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EDITORIAL

IT HAS LONG BEEN KNOWN THAT THE MAIN LINE OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY Anabaptists were pacifists, but a systematic marshaling of the evidence and a setting of the Anabaptist position in the sixteenth-century world has not yet been done. The first article in this issue attempts this on a limited scale. The total evidence is much greater than the compass of the article permits, hence only a selection of typical or key sources and persons can be presented. But this evidence is both striking and convincing. The Anabaptist vision was creative at this point, as at other points, in strong contrast to the prevailing ethic of both Catholics and Protestants. The problem of the origin of the Anabaptist pacifism has not been fully solved, but its character is fully established.

ONE OF THE TRAGIC EPISODES OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY MENNONITE HISTORY IS the fate of the Dutch Mennonite congregation established near Goshen, Indiana, in 1853 by a very conservative emigrant group from Balk, Friesland (Netherlands). One hundred years after its establishment in the new world in an endeavor to save itself, scarcely a handful of descendants remained in the Mennonite Church, and the congregation itself had been extinct for more than a half century. One is inescapably reminded of the saying of Jesus, "he that saveth his life shall lose it." The modern Salem Mennonite congregation, though in a sense the continuance of the old Dutch congregation, is composed of altogether different family stock, and has no sense of a historical heritage from the Dutch group.

As a centennial observance of the origin of the founding of the Dutch congregation the REVIEW is happy to present two articles in this issue: the one on the original Balk congregation by C. F. Brüsewitz of Utrecht, Holland, former pastor in Balk, and the other on the history of the Dutch congregation itself by Marie Yoder, a daughter of the present bishop of the Salem congregation. The two articles give the essential traits in the picture of the group and trace its history to its sorrowful end. The Brüsewitz article also contains a list of the manuscripts of the group which have been collected by the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College.

ORIGINAL MENNONITE SOURCES OF THE EIGHTEENTH—NINETEENTH-CENTURY Mennonite immigrants from Europe to North America are rare. Among the best of these have been the Mellinger letters, published in the REVIEW in 1931. We are indebted to Professor Don Yoder of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., for the discovery and editing of a number of additional letters of immigrants, "The Risser Letters," paralleling somewhat the Mellinger letters, but giving additional light on the experiences of the travelers to America in the first half of the nineteenth century. Katharina Risser paints vivid pen pictures, some of which are outstanding, particularly in her account of the visit with the Mellingers in Lancaster County, including the Martin Mellinger of the earlier letters.

THE ANABAPTIST READING OF CERTAIN OF THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS SUCH AS Tertullian is well attested. That they also depended to some extent upon Sebastian Franck's *Geschichtsbibel* of 1531 for their knowledge of the earlier fathers as well as of the general course of church history, has likewise been known. But until Robert Friedmann's discovery in 1954 of Peter Olivi's thirteenth-century *Postil on the Apocalypse* among the Hutterite manuscripts nothing was known of the use of medieval theological writings among the Anabaptists. Friedmann's report in this issue opens a new vista on possible sources of influence on the Anabaptist movement.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

THE PACIFISM OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY ANABAPTISTS*

HAROLD S. BENDER

A preliminary word should be said about the propriety of the use of the late, twentieth-century term "pacifism" to apply to the peace doctrines of the sixteenth-century Anabaptists. As it has been used since World War I pacifism designates broadly an idealistic antimilitarist position whose goal is the elimination of war in history. It may be Christian or non-Christian, political or nonpolitical, but in any case, except for the radical Biblical nonresistant groups such as the older Quakers and the Mennonites, it is anchored largely in a basic belief in the goodness and perfectibility of man and the reformability of the general human society on rational grounds. The original "pacifism" of the Anabaptists (and Quakers or other "historic peace churches"), as we shall see, is of a different character, with quite other roots and premises, as well as other goals. In the sixteenth century there was, in the Renaissance humanism and Erasmian pacifism, a revulsion against war and an idealistic and Christian longing for peace. But there was no peace movement as such. Erasmus, Ludovicus Vives, and Sebastian Franck were solitary figures, although it is clear that for Erasmus humanism and a certain pacifism were inseparable. Ludovicus Vives (1492-1540) was the most uncompromising of the humanist pacifists, but also the most pessimistic. His two paci-

*Read before the American Society of Church History, New York, December 28, 1954. Published in *Church History*, June 1955. Reprinted by permission.

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fist works, *De Concordia et Discordia in Humano Genere* (1526, dedicated to Charles V) and *De Pacificatione* (1529, dedicated to the Archbishop of Seville), are noble statements. His basic motivation was the restoration and maintenance of Christian unity. He did not believe, however, in the possibility of world peace upon the earth; so he worked for inner peace in the individual and looked forward to real peace in eternity. Erasmus is more the humanist who is hindered in his basic work and mobility by war. Franck's *Das Kriegbüchlein des Frides* (1539) is a vigorous attack on war, as the title announces, "a war of peace battling against all alarums, revolution, and senselessness with thorough demonstration . . . that war not only does not belong in the kingdom of Christ but is nothing else than a devilish, bestial, unchristian, inhuman thing. . . ."

In the midst of the truly bloody character of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both in war and religious persecution, the consistent and continued radical nonresistance of peaceful Anabaptism is remarkable with its complete rejection of war and personal violence, and its insistence upon religious liberty. About the clarity and absolutism of the Anabaptist position there can be no question, as the evidence will show in a moment. With minor exceptions such as Balthasar Hubmaier (d. 1528) and the short-lived revolutionary Münsterites (1534 ff.) and Batenburgers, the entire movement from Courtrai to Königsberg and from Bern to Budapest, whether Swiss, German, Flemish, Frisian, Austrian, or Moravian, openly and vigorously broke with the universally accepted war system, or with the "sword" as they called it. For them the sword was "outside the perfection of Christ," as the Schleitheim Confession of 1527 states it.[1] Before 1525, the birth date of Anabaptism, there were, to be sure, antiwar expressions in some of the medieval nonconformist groups such as the Waldenses, and no one has exceeded Peter Chelchitzky (*ca.* 1460) of Bohemia in his absolutist pacifism, but by the sixteenth century the Waldenses had forgotten the antimilitarism of their fathers, and Peter's was a lone voice in the wilderness. In any case Anabaptism had no genetic connection with these prior movements; it was born in the bosom of the Reformation, and its leaders came directly out of the Roman Church or had been loyal followers of Zwingli and Luther.

Our amazement at the pacifism of the sixteenth-century Anabaptists only grows as we contemplate the belligerence of the period and the attitudes toward war of all the leading Reformers and popes

1 J. C. Wenger, "The Schleitheim Confession of Faith," *Menn. Quart. Review*, XIX (1945) 250.

as well as the Christian princes and emperors. The Truce of God, first applied in 1076, a genuine attempt to mitigate the slaughter of feudal wars and fratricidal conflicts, had long since lost its efficacy and been discarded. *Raubrittergeist* was still abroad. The principle of an allowable just war was fixed in the dogmatic theory of the medieval Roman Church, and taken over by the Reformers (Luther at first taught only a defensive war), but where can one find any justice in the endless warrings of the sixteenth century, except possibly in the defense against the Turks? Yet all the princes were "defenders of the faith," and should have obeyed the church on this point. The wars of the century were endless. In the brief 20-year public career of Sebastian Franck (1526-44), the first Christian philosopher of history, who also wept over the wars of Christendom, there were four wars between France and Germany alone. Then there were the strange wars between the most Catholic Emperor Charles V, who was eager to restore the broken unity of the church, and the pope, who was the head of that church. In 1527 the troops of Charles V sacked Rome with a hitherto unheard-of slaughter, practically wiping out the cultured classes.

War was not only an accepted instrument of national or political policy. It was also an instrument of the church. Men sought to serve God by using war as an instrument of religion, of the very kingdom of God itself, as the Catholic and Protestant military leagues of the Reformation period attest. Franz von Sickingen joyfully sprang to the assistance of Luther in his ill-fated attack on the Archbishop of Treves. Admiral Coligny and his Huguenot friends took to arms to save their faith from extermination in the bloody religious wars of sixteenth-century France, as the Münsterites of 1534 had done against the Bishop of Münster's beleaguering army. And Luther called on the princes to "smite, slay, and destroy the mad dogs of the peasants," whose cause he had earlier called just, for the princes would thereby be serving a good purpose. Nor should we overlook Zwingli's scheme for a great Protestant military alliance to establish the Reformation once for all against its enemies (rejected by a clearer visioned Luther), while he himself died on the battlefield of Cappel in a religious war against the Swiss Catholic cantons. It was not Thomas Müntzer alone who thought to establish God's righteousness by the sword.

Luther discussed the question of war and soldiering in the pamphlet *Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können* (1526). In this pamphlet he concludes that "soldiers can be in a state of grace, for war is as necessary as eating, drinking, or any other business." But he goes even further to say, "The hand which bears the sword (i.e.,

the government) is as such no longer man's but God's, and not man it is, but God who hangs, breaks on the wheel, beheads, strangles."[2] Calvin abolished the distinction between the believer's private and public morality, placing the public morality of the state under the Old Testament. He held that the Sermon on the Mount cannot conflict with the politics of the pious kings of Israel and the Old Testament code.[3] Calvin defended war as a means of public vengeance against evil. Beza affirmed the rightness of religious warfare on historical, Biblical, and dogmatic grounds. Troeltsch, in viewing the record of the reformers on this question, says, "The Protestant way out of the strain of a dual morality, personal and public, is not a solution but a reformulation of the problem."[4]

In the face of such a century consider the Anabaptists. The founder of Swiss Anabaptism, Conrad Grebel, spoke clearly in his famous letter of September 1524 to Thomas Müntzer, which includes a stiff rebuke to Müntzer for his reported readiness to "use the fist" against the princes, a letter which, by the way, should go far to nullify the theory of the Münsterian origin of Anabaptism.

> True, believing Christians are as sheep in the midst of wolves. . . . They . . . must reach the fatherland of eternal rest, not by overcoming bodily enemies with the sword, but by overcoming spiritual foes. They use neither the worldly sword nor engage in war, since among them killing has ceased entirely, for we are no longer under the old covenant.[5]

Even before Grebel, in January 1523, Andreas Castelberger of the later Zürich Anabaptist circle (here I quote from the Zürich court records) was

> . . . saying much about war; how the divine teaching is so strong against it and how it is sin. And he expressed the idea that the soldier who had plenty at home in his fatherly inheritance and goods and yet went to war, and received money and pay to kill innocent persons and to take their possessions from people who had never done him any harm, such a soldier was before Almighty God, and according to the content of Gospel teaching, a murderer and not better than one who would murder and steal on account of his poverty, regardless of the fact that this might not be so according to human laws, and might not be counted so bad.[6]

It is important to note that both Castelberger and Grebel rejected war and killing while they were yet followers of Zwingli and before the beginning of persecution, contrary to the assertion of the chronicler Johannes Kessler, who claimed that they accepted the prin-

2 *Luthers Werke*, Weimar ed., XIX, 626.
3 E. Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* (Tübingen, 1912) 637.
4 G. J. Heering, *The Fall of Christianity* (London, 1930) 79.
5 H. S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, 1950) 179.
6 *Ibid.*, 200.

ciple of nonresistance only after the government had enacted hostile measures against them.[7]

After the open break with Zwingli in January 1525, a steady flow of evidence is available throughout the sixteenth century in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and Moravia on the Anabaptist testimony for Christian nonresistance and against war, killing, and the use of force in any form. Felix Manz, with Grebel a cofounder of the movement, said in December 1526, in the testimony in his trial before the Zürich court, which resulted in his martyrdom as the first Anabaptist martyr a few days later (again I quote from the court record): "It had always been his conviction and still was that no Christian could be a government officer, nor could he use the sword nor kill anyone nor punish, because he had no Scripture for it."[8] In January 1527, in a farewell letter to his brethren before his martyrdom, Manz says, "Christ never hated anyone, therefore His true servants will also not hate and will accordingly follow Christ on the road on which He has gone before us."[9]

The spokesmen of the Swiss Brethren in the Zofingen disputation of 1532 said, "In Matthew 5 Christ forbids the believers all use of force."[10] In the great Bern disputation of 1538 the Brethren spoke fully of their nonresistance, summarized as follows:

> We grant that in the non-Christian world state authorities have a legitimate place, to keep order, to punish the evil, and to protect the good. But we as Christians live according to the Gospel and our only authority and Lord is Jesus Christ. Christians consequently do not use the sword, which is worldly, but they use the Christian ban. There is a great difference between Christians and the world, the former living by the standards of the Sermon on the Mount and the latter being perverted and governed by Satan. The world uses the sword; Christians use only spiritual weapons.[11]

Without quoting other Swiss Anabaptist sources except Sattler, who will be cited later, let us accept the testimony of Bullinger, the successor to Zwingli as head of the Zürich church. In his book of 1531 against them *(Von dem unverschämpten frävel)* he quotes an Anabaptist in a fictitious dialogue as saying, "War is the worst evil that one can conceive" *(das ergist uebel das man erdenken kan),* to which the Reformed speaker in the dialogue replies, "It is truly a great evil

7 *Johannes Kesslers Sabbata* (St. Gall, 1902) 143.

8 L. von Muralt and W. Schmid, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz.* Erster Band: (Zürich, 1952) 216.

9 *Ibid.,* 219.

10 *Handlung oder Acta gehaltener Disputation und Gespräch zu Zoffingen inn Berner Biet mit den Widertöufferen* (1532) 94 v.

11 From the unprinted manuscript record of the Bern disputation in the Staatsarchiv of Bern, "Unnütze Papiere," Vol. 80.

when it is not begun and conducted with God." The Anabaptist then says further, "But do you think that the believers have even the right to go to war?" To which the Reformed speaker replies, "Yes, much and great" *(Ja vil und dick)*. The Anabaptist then demands that this be proved out of God's Word, which the Reformed speaker (actually Bullinger) does for almost three pages, beginning with Abraham's war against the three kings in Genesis 14, and ending with John the Baptist's advice to the soldiers in Luke 3, giving examples of Christian emperors along the way, such as Constantine and Theodosius.[12] In his second book against them in 1561 *(Der Widertoufferen Ursprung)* Bullinger gives similar testimony.

> They believe that Christians should stand ready to suffer (rather than strike back). No Christian may be a ruler. The government should not undertake to regulate matters of faith and religious practice. Christians do not resist violence and do not take recourse to law. They do not use the law courts. Christians do not kill. The punishment used by them is not imprisonment and the sword, but only church discipline. They do not defend themselves, therefore they do not go to war and are not obedient to the government on this point.[13]

Appended to Bullinger's second work just mentioned is a booklet written by spokesmen of the Swiss Brethren giving their reasons why they did not make common cause with the state church. The following quotation is taken from this booklet:

> The theologians of the established church have in the first period of their reformatory labors advocated the Christian, evangelical opinion that Christians should not protect themselves or their evangelical doctrine, by worldly, carnal force, sword, weapons or resistance, nor defend themselves in this way against their adversaries and opponents, but should use only the Word of God as the Sword of the Spirit and other weapons which are mentioned in Ephesians, chapter 6; and that they should not avenge themselves, nor resist evil. The worldly, Mosaic sword should not be found among them: they should not seek justice before a court of law on account of earthly possessions or honor, but should be willing to suffer and bear the cross, if they would be Christians. And this, their former doctrine, is clearly founded on the New Testament Scriptures.[14]

Before we leave the Swiss Brethren we must report that one of the outstanding early Anabaptist leaders, Dr. Balthasar Hubmaier (martyred May 1528), did not share the nonresistant position of the Swiss Brethren. In his booklet *On the Sword,* written June 24, 1527, at Nikolsburg, Moravia, where he was the leader of a large Anabaptist congregation, he attempted to persuade the Brethren by many argu-

12 H. Bullinger, *Der Widertöufferen Ursprung, Fürgang, Secten, Wäsen* (Zürich, 1561) 139 v.
13 *Ibid.*, fol. 16.
14 *Verantwortung etlicher die man töuffer nennt, uff die Fragen warumb sy nit zur kirchen gangind,* fol. 218 v.

ments that their antiwar position was unscriptural, and advocated the view that the Christian may use the sword both in war and as an officer of the government. The two Nikolsburg disputations of 1527, which dealt among other things with the urgent question of payment of war taxes levied by the Moravian Landtag in view of the serious threat of the Turkish advance on Vienna, resulted in a split of the congregation. Hubmaier's followers were called *Schwertler,* in contrast to the others who were called *Stäbler.* It is worthy of note that the *Schwertler* party of Hubmaier's followers soon died out (no trace is found of them after 1529), whereas the party of the absolute nonresistants, who would not even pay the war tax, survived as the great Hutterite movement. The only other known Anabaptist leaders in Switzerland, Germany, or Austria-Moravia who did not share the full nonresistant position were Ambrosius Spittalmaier (martyred 1528) and Jacob Gross (recanted Anabaptism in 1531), who for a time in 1525 was a member of Hubmaier's congregation at Waldshut. While in prison at Strasbourg on August 9, 1526, Gross declared himself ready in effect for noncombatant military service. He would stand watch and carry a gun, but would not consent to take human life, "for to kill a human being is not required in any commandment of God."[15]

An outstanding case of Anabaptist nonresistant testimony is that of the noted Michael Sattler, who was ready to be nonresistant even toward the Turks. Sattler, a friend of Butzer, who called him "a dear friend of God" and "a martyr of Christ"[16] and who protested his martyrdom in May 1527, at Rottenburg on the Neckar, was probably the author of the first Anabaptist confession, the *Seven Articles of Schleitheim* of February 24, 1527, whose sixth article, "On the Sword," declares, "The sword is outside the perfection of Christ," and forbids the Christian both to bear the sword as a magistrate and to "employ it against the wicked for the defense and protection of the good, or for the sake of love."[17]

One of the most telling charges against Sattler as reported in the record of his trial,[18] published in several versions almost immediately after his execution, was the accusation that he had taught that if the Turks came into the country no resistance should be offered. Indeed, if war could be morally justified, he would rather fight

15 Quoted from the Strasbourg court records for 1526 by C. A. Cornelius, *Geschichte des Münsterischen Aufruhrs,* Vol. II (Leipzig, 1860) 268.

16 Quoted from Butzer's *Getrewe Warnung* (Strasbourg, July 1527) by A. Hulshof, *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden te Straatsburg van 1525 tot 1557* (Amsterdam, 1905) 28.

17 Wenger, *loc. cit.,* 250.

18 G. Bossert, "Michael Sattler's Trial and Martyrdom," *Menn. Quart. Review,* XXV (1951) 201-18, gives the bibliography of the early publication of the Sattler trial report, p. 208.

against the Christians than against the Turks. This charge could not fail to make the deepest impression on the court. The Turks for years had been considered the worst foe of the empire and the Christian faith. Vast sums of money had been sacrificed by the faithful and paid as a Turkish war tax to make war on the archfoe of Christendom. King Ferdinand had been caused inexpressible distress by the Turks; at great pains he had aroused the German estates and raised an army to fight them. And now the Turk was to be considered less dangerous than he and the representatives of the old faith. To be sure, Sattler was not charged, as other Anabaptists had been, with having made an alliance with the Turks, but the charge that was made was sufficient to make him an archtraitor to the empire.

Concerning this charge Sattler admitted that he had taught that if the Turk should come no armed resistance should be made, for it is written, Thou shalt not kill. We should not resist any of our persecutors with the sword, but with prayer cling to God, that He may resist and defend. Sattler even admitted having said that if war were right, he would rather march against supposed Christians who persecute, capture, and kill the God-fearing. The Turk knows nothing about the Christian faith; he is a "Turk according to the flesh." "But you want to be considered Christians, boast of being Christ's and still persecute His pious witnesses; you are Turks according to the spirit."[19]

The infidel Turks who were before Vienna in 1529 continued to pound at the gates to the West for another century and a half. Throughout this time the Hutterite Anabaptists refused to join in the fight against them, either by taking arms, or making arms, or paying war taxes. The situation would be quite comparable to that of Western Europe today with the infidel communists threatening western Christian civilization. Nothing could better test the sincerity and fortitude of sixteenth-century Anabaptist pacifism. Peter Riedemann's classic Hutterite confession of 1545 speaks boldly:

> Now since Christ, the Prince of Peace, hath prepared and won for Himself a kingdom, that is, a Church through His own blood; in this same kingdom all worldly warfare has an end, as was promised aforetime. . . . Therefore a Christian neither wages war nor wields the worldly sword to practice vengeance. . . . Now if vengeance is God's and not ours, it ought to be left to Him and not practiced or exercised by ourselves. For, since we are Christ's disciples, we must show forth the nature of Him who though He could, indeed, have done so, repaid no evil with evil. . . . There is therefore no need for many words, for it is clear that Christians

19 Bossert, *loc. cit.*, 213.

can neither go to war nor practice vengeance. Whosoever doeth this hath forsaken and denied Christ and Christ's nature.[20]

And in the time of the greatest Turkish threat (1594-1605) the Hutterites of Moravia flatly refused, under the heaviest pressure from the Emperor Rudolphus II, to pay war levies, or to grant war loans. Twice, in 1596 and 1604, the Hutterite Bishop Braidl of Neumühl, Moravia, addressed to the emperor formal letters of refusal to grant such support "for conscience' sake."[21]

The very large and powerful Anabaptist movement in the Netherlands (until 1555 it was the strongest part of Protestantism in that corner of Europe) is well represented by its leader Menno Simons (active 1536-61), after whom the movement was named, who repeatedly and clearly taught complete nonresistance. Three samples will suffice:

(1) The regenerated do not go to war, nor engage in strife. They are the children of peace who have beaten their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks, and know of no war. They render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. Their sword is the sword of the Spirit which they wield with a good conscience through the Holy Ghost.[22]

(2) Since we are to be conformed to the image of Christ (Rom. 8:29), how can we then fight our enemies with the sword? Does not the Apostle Peter say: "For even hereunto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps; who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again," etc. (I Pet. 2:21-23; Matt. 16:24)?[23]

(3) I am well aware that the tyrants who boast themselves Christians attempt to justify their horrible wars and shedding of blood, and would make a good work of it by referring us to Moses, Joshua, etc. But they do not reflect that Moses and his successors, with their iron sword, have served out their time and that Jesus Christ has now given us a new commandment and has girded our loins with another sword. . . . They do not consider that they use the sword of war contrary to all evangelical Scripture against their own brethren, namely, those of like faith with them who have received the same baptism and have broken the same bread with them and are thus members of the same body.[24]

The same two thousand Anabaptist martyrs whose stories are told first in *Het Offer des Heeren* (1562 and succeeding editions) and then in the great *Martyrs' Mirror* of 1660, were without exception nonresistant. The very title of the great martyr book tells the story, *The Bloody Theatre, or Martyrs' Mirror of the Defenceless Chris-*

20 *Account of our Religion, Doctrine and Faith given by Peter Rideman* (London?, 1950) 108. Translated from the German edition of 1938.
21 A. J. F. Zieglschmid, ed., *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder* (Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1943) 575-79 and 620-26.
22 *The Complete Works of Menno Simon* (Elkhart, Ind., 1871) Part II, 170b.
23 *Ibid.*, II 435b.
24 *Ibid.*, I, 198.

tians Who Suffered and Were Put to Death for the Testimony of Jesus Their Saviour.

It should be added, of course, that the Anabaptists scarcely faced the direct challenge of universal compulsory military service in the sixteenth century. The nearest to such a challenge came in Holland in 1557 when Prince William of Orange granted them exemption from military service, and the Anabaptists in turn aided the cause of Dutch independence with gifts and loans.[25]

The nature of the nonresistance of the sixteenth-century Anabaptists is clear from their testimonies. It is first of all Biblical, and is argued from all the familiar teachings of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount and elsewhere, as well as Romans 12, I Peter 2, etc., including the example of Christ and the apostles. If the examples of war in the Old Testament were brought up, the Anabaptists answered that the Old Covenant has been displaced by the New, and the teachings of Jesus supersede those of Moses and Joshua; Christ is now our Lord, not the Old Testament. Their critics were hard put to find any good answer to the Scriptural argument, except to fall back upon the Old Testament and insist upon its prior and higher authority, and to add that, after all, Christ did not condemn the warriors of the Old Testament and did not specifically forbid warfare. The Anabaptists and the Reformers clearly had divergent doctrines of Scripture on the point of the relation of the two Testaments.

Calvin had no trouble at all in making the Old Testament the source of his war ethic, but for Luther, for whom personal faith in Christ was all in all, and who judged the books of the New Testament by how much they contained of Christ, it was not so simple. His solution, at least in the earlier period, was to acknowledge the law of love and nonresistance as found in the Sermon on the Mount and apply it to the personal life of the Christian, but to deny its application to the conduct of government, a solution similar in its way to the Roman Catholic ethical dualism which held the monks and the clergy to a higher stand on war than the common people. The Christian lived in two worlds, said Luther; as a citizen of the kingdom of Christ he could not fight, but as a citizen of this world he was bound to fight at the command of his prince.

Here is where the Anabaptists and Luther parted. For them there could be no such a dualism. They agreed that the government had the right and necessity to use the sword, according to God's insti-

25 N. van der Zijpp, *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Nederland* (Arnhem, 1952) 134. See also J. Dyserinck, "De Weerlosheid volgens de Doopsgezinden," *De Gids* 1890, 104-61 and 303-42; and N. van der Zijpp, *De Vroegere Doopsgezinden en de Krijgsdienst* (Wolvega, 1930) 26 *et passim.*

tution, but since the Christian could not use the sword, he could not take part in government. It is from this viewpoint alone that the Anabaptists declined to serve in the magistracy. They did not reject government as such; they were not anarchists.

Now one may charge the Anabaptists with being naive, but certainly they were consistent. They may not have thought through to the bitter end the logic of their withdrawal, but they at least intended to be uncompromisingly obedient to Christ and the New Testament as they understood it. Christ was for them not only a divine being to be worshiped, and a Saviour from judgment, but a Master to whom they were disciples, a Lord to be followed and obeyed. They read the New Testament simply and obeyed it literally.

But how could they be so naive as to insist upon withdrawal from the government as the requirement for Christians? Was it because they were eschatologically minded and expected the near end of the world, so that it mattered little what happened to the government? There is little evidence for this, although the Hutterite chronicle speaks frequently of the times as "diese letzte gefährliche Zeit."

The answer is to be found rather in their doctrine of the two worlds. The new kingdom of God which is being established in their terms and through them (see Littell's discussion in his *Anabaptist View of the Church*) is of necessity distinct from the world order which is dominated by Satan. That the church and state join in persecuting the true church is only one more bit of evidence of the wickedness of the world order, they concluded. The old church (both Roman Catholic and Protestant) has failed particularly in its mixing of the two kingdoms, hence the true church must be, and is being, reestablished separate from the world. This true church is the present kingdom of Christ which is being established in the midst of and alongside of the kingdom of this world; it is not to be deferred to some millennial future.

The Anabaptists further developed a martyr-theology and a doctrine of the suffering church. The martyr church was to be able to establish its place in history through suffering. As Ethelbert Stauffer has pointed out in his valuable article in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (1933) on "The Martyr-Theology of the Anabaptists," the Anabaptists saw the whole of history from the fall of the first Adam down to the Second Coming of Christ as a great battle between God and His enemies; just as Christ was victor through His cross and suffering, so the suffering church would be victorious with Him in its cross and suffering, if not in the sixteenth century, at least in God's good time. For such a church nonresistance was not a weak

cover for a necessary yielding to superior force; it was the supreme weapon of the Christ for conquest through His church. Here we have no idealistic or humanistic vision of getting rid of war in history; we deal rather with the very heart of Christian faith. In the evil world as it is, there is no other lot for the Christian but to suffer, but through this suffering he will conquer. So we see the Anabaptist martyrs by the hundreds going to the stake with joyful confidence, and openly turning their places of execution into evangelistic platforms. So we can understand why in some places the authorities forbade further public executions because of their attractive power in winning converts. "The blood of the martyrs," Tertullian had said long before, "is the seed of the church."

A final question concerns the relation of Anabaptist nonresistance to Erasmian pacifism. Did perhaps the early Swiss Anabaptists, or even the Dutch or the Hutterites, draw their antiwar ideas from Erasmus, who with possibly Ludovicus Vives, was the only man of outspoken pacifistic spirit in the first quarter of the sixteenth century? This question is in turn involved in the larger question of the relation of Anabaptism to humanism, particularly of the Erasmian type. The thesis of the humanistic origin of Anabaptism has been advocated by no less an authority than Walther Koehler, and is proved, whatever ideological similarities there may be in the field of ethics. Anabaptism can be understood as essentially the logical unfolding of the central Reformation principles, only freed from the holdover medieval church concept of the *Corpus Christianum* with its cultural bonds. *Sola Scriptura* is sufficient to account for the pacifism of the Anabaptists. Matthew 5 persuaded Luther in his earlier years to accept personal nonresistance. It was his sense of responsibility to or solidarity with the established social order which prevented him from taking the nonresistance position to its full consequence as the Anabaptists did, just as this same concept of responsibility has kept Reinhold Niebuhr from continuing in his earlier pacifism, and no doubt keeps many other modern Christians from accepting the Christian pacifism which they believe is the authentic teaching of Jesus. Did not the Amsterdam World Council define war as mankind's greatest collective sin?

But were not some of the early Anabaptists humanists, possibly under the influence of the Erasmus who wrote *Querella Pacis* in 1516? Since Conrad Grebel himself, as well as Zwingli, under whose influence he became a Protestant, was once a humanist, I made a thorough examination[26] of the question of the possible influence of

26 H. S. Bender, *Conrad Grebel* (Goshen, Ind., 1950) 199-203.

Erasmus on Grebel in respect to the pacifist position, but without finding much light on the question. In Zürich itself, in the circle of Grebel's intimate friends, there was considerable interest in the question of war and peace. As early as 1520 his good friend Oswald Myconius had written a tract against war entitled *Philirenus,* which he circulated among his friends for criticism. On August 30, 1520, Grebel had a copy in possession, which he read with great interest and "found so true" that he expressed the conviction that it deserved to be printed and thus to be made permanent. Other friends, however, were influential in persuading Myconius to withhold the pamphlet from publication. It is well known that in the years 1520-22 and even later, the pacifist viewpoint was present in the Zwingli circle in Zürich. Zwingli had probably taken it over from Erasmus. However, the pacifist convictions of Zwingli and his friends must not have been very deep, at least not deep enough to leave any permanent influence upon their thinking, for before long Zwingli was actively engaged in planning a great military alliance to fight the pope, and as is well known he died at the head of the army of Zürich on the battlefield of Cappel in 1531. Grebel reports in a letter to Vadian in 1524, that Zwingli had preached a *kriegspredigt, et populus applausit manibus.*[27] If, then, Grebel maintained his pacifism while Zwingli lost his, there must have been some fundamental difference in the thinking of the two men on the question. This difference can probably be discovered by a comparison of the pacifism of Erasmus with the nonresistance of Conrad Grebel.

The opposition of Erasmus to war was derived primarily from a number of diverse philosophical, sociological, moral, and religious arguments, many of which are valid and useful in building up a conviction against war. But even though there is a religious tone and coloring in Erasmus' thought on the question of war and peace, as well as sincere Christian conviction, nevertheless the Erasmian pacifism was primarily humanitarian in character and not theological and Biblical, except in its emphasis on the mystical unity of the body of Christ in the Sacrament. The one general argument against participation in war which Grebel used in his letter to Müntzer, the argument of "the suffering church," is not only not found in Erasmus, but is at the opposite pole from his position. A still further and significant difference between Erasmus and Grebel lies in the fact that Grebel was an absolutist on the question of war and violence, and consistently rejected all killing, including therefore wars in self-defense, whereas Erasmus, although he at times used very sharp words

27 *Ibid.,* 274, note 54.

against war, was ready not only to permit a defensive war, but even any just war. Doctor Ines Thürlemann, who has made a thorough study of Erasmus as a pacifist, has shown in her doctoral dissertation that this was a characteristic feature of the position of Erasmus on war. She quotes him at one place as saying: "Citizens may be permitted to fight, but it must be a just war. Whether the war is just or not and in what manner and against whom it is to be fought, that must be left to the decision of the ruler."[28] Between the relativism of an Erasmus who would be willing to let a ruler decide whether a war was just or not, and the absolutism of a Grebel who would dare to say that "among true believing Christians killing is done away with altogether," there is considerable distance. It is probable that the humanist Conrad Grebel of 1520 to 1522 was in spirit an Erasmian pacifist, and that this opened the door of his mind to the teaching of the New Testament, particularly the Sermon on the Mount, and to the logical deduction from the fundamental concept of "the suffering church" that Christians should suffer and not fight; but the Grebel of 1525 was no longer a humanitarian pacifist but a believer in the principle of Biblical nonresistance, which is something quite different.

28 Inez Thürlemann, *Erasmus von Rotterdam und Joannes Ludovicus Vives als Pazifisten* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1932, dissertation) 44, quoted from Le Clerc's (1703ff.) edition of Erasmus' complete works, Vol. II, 963E.

THE MENNONITES OF BALK, FRIESLAND

CARL F. BRÜSEWITZ*

Central to the religious thinking of the Dutch Mennonites for centuries has been the concept and the nature of the true church of Christ. From the beginning of the Anabaptist movement in the Low Countries there have been different tendencies which can be followed in the later development of the Mennonite Church and its various divisions. These tendencies vary over a wide range of ecclesiological conceptions from the more individualistic ideas, deeply influenced by the spiritualists of the Reformation time, which we find among the later Waterlanders, to the strongly church-centered ideas of those groups which in Dutch Mennonite history are known as "Oude Vlamingen" (Old Flemish) and "Oude of Harde Friesen" (Old or Hard, i.e., stubborn, Frisians). I doubt whether in the real sense it is correct to call these last two groups conservative. The nature of original Anabaptism in the Low Countries is still an open question and it would be premature to say that these groups with their strong emphasis on the church had best conserved the ancestral heritage. On the other hand, they were conservative in the sense that they feared all change and innovation as dangerous. Both of these groups saw their church as the only true church of God, to be found nowhere else. They were strong in banning and shunning; they were opposed to outside marriages; they rebaptized those that came into their church from another branch; and they observed a strict nonconformity to the world.

When the German traveler S. F. Rues visited the Mennonite churches in the eighteenth century, he gave a fair description of the Dutch Mennonites and their ideas and church life, clearly distinguishing the larger groups of Mennonites, among whom he found more or less orthodox ideas (but whose practices generally had much in common among themselves as well as with larger groups of Dutch Protestants), from the Old Flemish and Old Frisians which in his day were to be found in the larger centers as Haarlem and Amsterdam and in the country, especially in the province of Groningen. The latter groups had no pulpits in their simple, sober church buildings; only a podium with some chairs showed where the elders and preachers were seated. Here there was a simplicity in dress and custom

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which had not altogether disappeared from the other groups, but which had not been accentuated among them. By the early twenties of the nineteenth century, however, none of the Old Flemish churches were any longer in existence. Their largest group, the Groninger Societeit (conference), had discontinued in 1815; some of the members had united with the Mennonite churches of the broader type, and several had joined the more conservative wing of the Reformed Church, which in those years was moving toward the great secession of 1834. Only three Mennonite churches remained in Holland of the type of which the Old Flemish had formerly been the best-known representatives. Even these three churches located in Aalsmeer (itself divided also into an old and a new church), on the island of Ameland, and in Balk, all belonged to the Old Frisians.

Although it is difficult to analyze fully the real differences between the Old Flemish and the Old Frisians, since the name Old Flemish, especially in Groningen, was a party name and did not signify a Flemish origin, it can nevertheless be said that the Old Flemish, however strictly they believed that they were the only true church, were after all aware of their common origin with the other groups among the Dutch Mennonite brotherhood, and that they also had strong ties with other European Mennonite groups, especially with the West Prussian brethren, among whom many were of their own conviction. The Old Frisians, on the other hand, always held strictly aloof from all groups outside their congregations; they had become totally alienated and isolated from the other branches.

The Old Frisian conviction that they were the only true followers of Menno Simons was, however, not entirely without reason. Compared with the other groups, they more than any of the others had the right to regard themselves such. With loyalty and love they saw in him the revered leader. They called themselves *Mennisten* and were strongly opposed to the name *Doopsgezinden,* which had become common first among the Waterlanders and then among almost all other groups. Their most influential leader had been Pieter Janz Twisck, elder in Hoorn, who died in 1636. Twisck had known Menno's daughter, and one of the members of his congregation had stood by Menno's deathbed. Nowhere were the works of Menno Simons so diligently collected and printed as in Hoorn. Here Menno's strong position (in his later days) on banning and shunning was cherished, and they considered themselves the only true church of God, with the only valid baptism. The influence of Twisck's leadership can still be seen two centuries later. In addition to Twisck there were other leaders whose names were given to divisions of the Old

Frisians. Thus the Mennonites of Ameland were called *Jan Jacobsgezinden* and those of Balk had the name *Pieter Jeltjesvolk*. Pieter Jeltjes was an elder about 1600 in the Kollum congregation which had been united with that of Balk, but which had died out at the end of the eighteenth century; hence a plot of land in Kollum came to the Balk church as the only church left of that group.

As to the Balk congregation itself, it may be assumed that it always had been a very small group. In his article on Balk in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* Barthel gives some statistics showing that it never exceeded a total membership of 100. It has remained small to the present day. In the first half of the nineteenth century the membership was about 30 to 40, with 13 or 14 families. Some of them were farmers, others were artisans, such as a blacksmith; some were fishermen on the big lake in the neighborhood or on the Zuiderzee.

The Balk congregation worshiped in what was then one of the oldest meetinghouses among the Frisian Mennonites. It was constructed in 1625. It was a plain building with wooden benches without back rests. A platform with some chairs in front of the congregation, and a fireplace in the corner completed the interior. The church customarily had two elders and two preachers, who were chosen by majority vote. Only when two men had an equal number of votes was the lot cast between them.

It is very difficult to say anything about the spiritual life of the church because of the lack of reliable data. It is known that in the years 1853-54 the large part of the congregation emigrated to the United States. Almost immediately the church was reorganized on the pattern of other Dutch Mennonite churches and a minister was chosen. Some of the ministers of 40 years later tried to give an impression of the church life before 1850. Some of the people who knew the old situation must still have been living then, and they were too near the events to gain a good perspective, so that their description of the old way gives too much of an impression of strange peculiarity.

It is certain, however, that tradition was a great force in the Balk church and in the families belonging to it. Outward contacts were very few. There is no proof of contact between the Balk church and that of Ameland; there was some contact with a church at Giethoorn, which also became extinct by the end of the eighteenth century. The only brotherly exchange they had was with the brethren at Aalsmeer. The church of Aalsmeer was much larger than that at Balk. In the beginning of the nineteenth century there occurred the schism, which resulted in the formation of two Old Frisian churches at Aalsmeer.

Both continued until 1866, when the three Mennonite churches of Aalsmeer united and built one new church and also had one paid minister. As to the spiritual life of the old Aalsmeer churches it can be said that in the last years of their existence tradition had lost its inner meaning and strength. In the services the preachers and elders used the sermons of other Mennonite pastors, indeed even those of the liberal Remonstrant van der Hoeven. It is said that one of the preachers used to go to the Mennonite Church at Haarlem to hear the Haarlem minister's sermon and then deliver the same sermon a week later in his own congregation. Even today, 80 or 90 years after the extinction of the old churches, the lay element in the leadership of the Aalsmeer church in preaching is stronger than anywhere else in Holland, especially in a country church.

A parallel to this characteristic cannot be found at Balk, but the Aalsmeer church of today is composed of the sons and grandsons of the people of before 1866, whereas at Balk there are no descendants, of the "fine Mennonists," as they were called then. The contact between Balk and Aalsmeer consisted of an annual visit from both sides on a week end in the summer. In Balk there were two services on such a Sunday, in which the Aalsmeer brethren served with the Word. It was on these occasions that footwashing had a place in church life, as well as the brotherly kiss. We know that in those last years of the Balk church the sermons of the elders and preachers had become very traditional. They were often copies of the famous ancestors, such as Twisck, Wybrantz, and Joost Hendriks. Most sermons were delivered year after year and many older members must have known them by heart. It is as if there were only a few things to be said, but these must be said time and time again. Some of these sermons which are still extant clearly show that religious teaching was predominant; that in this religious teaching there were central themes connected with the concept of the group, the nature of the church, holiness of life, and the danger of communion with the unholy world. In some cases it must be said that the tone of these admonitions is really original Mennonitism; there is not so much pietistic influence to be seen in them. On the other hand, the absence of the pietistic warmth and witness makes them seem sterile to us, and it becomes clear why these people were formerly called also "hard" Frisians.

The archives of the Mennonite Church at Balk contain almost nothing from the periods before 1854, with the exception of an account book and a few letters from Aalsmeer merely announcing the coming of a group of friends. Some new information concerning the

group has been acquired through the recent discovery of some books and manuscripts in the United States in the homes of descendants of the people who emigrated one hundred years ago. The collection is rather incomplete. It must have belonged to Ruurd Johannes Smid, one of the two leaders, an elder in the church, who went to America in 1853. But the written documents are for the most part written by his older brother Obe Johannes Smid, who was a preacher in the church and who died on July 1, 1850, a few years before the emigration. The brothers belonged to the leading family in the church, their father Johannes Obes Smid and his brother Meine Obes having been preacher and elder respectively. It seems as if the last period of the old Mennonite church of Balk can be read in the life history of these two brothers Obe and Ruurd and their family.

Their youth in the early years of the nineteenth century (Obe, the third child, was born in 1802) must have been passed in a strong family setting. Obe himself speaks of his great-great-grandfather, who also lived in Balk in 1672 and died there in 1701. His grandmother was from Mildam near Heerenveen, where there was still a church of their own type. I state this to show that the former generations had their outward contacts. As the isolation grew, however, it became more difficult for the young men to find wives who were not too closely related. The center of the family was the father Johannes, who in his younger years, when he learned the blacksmith's trade, had lived in other places in Friesland, but had held faithfully to the church of his fathers at Balk, where he had been baptized in 1789. Soon after that he was chosen preacher and delivered his first sermon on February 14, 1796. The father's sorrows and difficulties no doubt influenced the whole family. In his obituary Obe writes that his father had suffered much strife and temptation, because in "these lascivious times many would go the broad way to adapt themselves to the world." He was strongly opposed to this. As a result he was not loved by many and was even ill spoken of by some. This nearly made him doubt that he was on the right way. But he could not see otherwise from the Word of the Lord, and this was a great consolation for him until the end of his life.

Johannes Smid was very diligent in his pastoral work. Besides his sermons he prepared the reprinting of the hymnbook which the Balk church used, i.e., the *Klein-Hoorns-Liedboek*, in 1814, he and his two brothers bearing the expense. In 1824 and 1825 he likewise had the two books which the church used for religious instruction reprinted entirely at his own expense. These books were: *The School of Virtue* by Thieleman van Braght and *Instruction in the Christian*

Faith by Pieter Boudewyns. He tried therewith to keep the faith of his church on the right foundation. Was it a final attempt to keep the dying fire burning? In any case, Obe himself was strongly convinced of the truth of the old way, and later on when he himself became a preacher he would not stop pointing to that way as the only way of obedience. For obedience was the test of true discipleship. When Obe speaks of the death of his uncle, his mother's brother, who died a few days before his father, he states that though he had had a long enough life, he had not yielded himself to the obedience of Christ. He regarded this as a warning for others like himself not to follow this bad example; for the uncle had died suddenly and had let the precious time of grace pass by. But here we see a side of Obe's character, which must have been a real Christian character. When he reads over what he has written here, he adds in small letters after "obedience of Christ": "through outward signs or in His church and after." After "pass by" he added "after our judgment."

In this family, with a father so strong in his love for the church, and with a mother's meek and godly life which was exceptional in the church, the six children grew up. They were very strictly disciplined and were often warned against the haughty world, to which they must not be conformed in houses, clothing, etc. Many a time the father spoke about the one church which remained after others had come to decay. Many would still seek friendship with the latter, but through this their decay would also become inevitable. As little boys and girls they went to church with their parents; when they were six years of age they were given a notebook, into which, by duty and habit, they wrote the text of the sermon and the name of the preacher. It may be noted here that in a time when education and teaching were not as general as they are nowadays, in this circle it was held in high esteem. These boys and girls, who did not speak the Dutch language but the Frisian tongue, which is in many ways different, nevertheless knew enough Dutch to be able to follow the sermon and write down the texts. Though it is easy to find many Frisianisms in Obe's later writings, his Dutch orthography nevertheless is almost faultless; he must have been a man with great gifts of heart and mind. Printed books were more rare at that time than now, and so the Smid children used to copy many things that later on could be obtained in book form, such as folk songs, etc. But it is somewhat surprising to see that although father Johannes had published a new edition of van Braght's *School of Virtue*, young Ruurd copied the whole work in one of his notebooks. It was the custom for children to learn that catechism by heart and to repeat it chapter by chapter on Sunday

afternoon. Maybe he found it easier to learn when once he had written it.

It is strange, however, that in a notebook belonging to Jakobje, one of the girls, who was quite a singer, there are besides the religious songs also some very worldly ones. It is certainly peculiar to read in such a notebook songs for wedding parties and sentimental folk songs which are totally worldly and even of low culture. Is it an indication that the inner life of the church and family was not enough for the young people? We know that tensions would have to come in the church life of Balk. In 1848 a new hymnbook came into use in Balk which was common among the Doopsgezinden throughout Holland. It was against the strong opposition by Obe Smid and others that Ruurd achieved this. And in a personal diary kept by Obe, the last item, entered in 1849, states that his younger brother Ruurd had been chosen as elder of the church, whereas Obe remained a preacher. What is the meaning of the silence that follows? That the strict party of Obe had lost the battle? A year later he died, and the answers to these questions remain obscure.

But we must go back to the year 1828. In that same year in which father Johannes died, Obe was chosen as a preacher. Formerly he had had the difficult but important task of *vorsanger* (song leader); he must have had a powerful voice. He now saw himself faced with what he calls a heavy and sorrowful service. He began to renew the instruction of the youth, which had been neglected for several years, and also promoted hymn singing in church on Sunday afternoon, for the purpose of keeping alive the old songs of the *Klein-Hoorns-Liedboek*. Although these hymns had very bad rhymes, they were sung to well-known old folk tunes and the singing therefore was lively, much more lively than in other Protestant churches of those days. It has been said by one who should know, that the singing of the Balk Mennonites was like that of Moody and Sankey. In general Obe felt that he was now responsible for the leading and for the guidance of his people. He studied much, especially in the Scriptures, but also the old works of Menno, Dirk Philips, and Pieter Jansz Twisck.

In 1830 the Belgian Revolt brought Holland into war, and since the young men of Friesland were also called to arms the Mennonites of Balk were now tested in one of their strong convictions, that of nonresistance. Obe saw in the outbreak of this war a punishment for the many sins of mankind. Still it did not come to the point that the brethren of Balk were personally tested. They could give money to the state to replace a man. Obe himself in 1838 wrote a pamphlet in

which he spoke of the freedom to pay this money, because it would not mean buying a man to do the things forbidden to a Christian; rather it was helping the authorities to do the things which they should do according to Romans XIII. In 1844 again he quoted the words of Claes Claesz, a Mennonite elder of the seventeenth century (though not an Old Frisian), which led to the same conclusion: to buy a man is forbidden but to pay taxes is not, not even in this particular case.

In a tract of 1830, rewritten in 1838, Obe clearly states the danger of buying a man to go to war. Young Christians must be trained to face the sufferings which they have to bear when they are not obedient to the authorities for conscience' sake. It is most of all for the weak in faith that a substitute should be bought. But would this really help those who are weak? It would be better for those to go into the war and see for themselves, so that like the prodigal son they would come to themselves and repent and seek the church of God, the home of the Father. Not only on the question of nonresistance did Obe seek to reinspire his brethren with the true New Testament teaching; also in the common life he emphasized that obedience to Christ brings with it nonconformity to the world. In many of his sermons and tracts he went into detail as to clothing, decorations of homes, inside and out, painting, etc. It is remarkable that among his papers there are three tracts against sexual immorality.

Interestingly, he rejected the use of gunpowder for making noise or fire. In one of his tracts, possibly written on the King's birthday, he replied to those who said this was done in honor of His Majesty, by saying that His Majesty was much more honored by people who did their daily work in cultivating the soil and producing food than by those who made noise in that way and thereby wasted money. And in a storm that passed over Balk on New Year's Eve he saw the hand of the Lord, as that night was spent by most people in an ungodly way, even by those who themselves wanted to be called Christians. Besides all the things he had thought over and written down for himself, things he no doubt repeated again and again in the pulpit as well as in the homes of the brethren among whom he did his pastoral work, Obe Smid also prepared a book for print, which was published at Sneek in 1848 under the title *A Clear Evidence from the New Testament how Christians Should Live.* Was it his wish to give something permanent to his brethren which would speak to them when he was no longer among them? Did he bear the expense, as his father had done in his day, out of his own pocket?

We do not know; but in this work the pastoral care of the flock by the preacher of the Gospel comes once again clearly to light.

Obe Johannes Smid was never married. This may be the reason why he was not chosen as elder in 1849. However, in 1844 his uncle Meine Obes, who was an elder, died, the other elder being Haitje Hantjes Visser, who lived in Balk after 1854. The second place was open, and when the other preacher, Tjeerd Haitjes Haitjema, died in 1847, Obe's brother Ruurd was chosen in his place and two years later was chosen as elder in the vacancy still open due to Uncle Meine's death. It must have been a bitter experience for Obe, who in the spirit of his father and uncle had done so much to keep the church in the way of the old faith, to be passed by in that way. He no doubt bore it as a Christian. His early death in 1850 was certainly a great loss to the church. In the *Doopsgezind Jaarboekje* for 1850 Prof. Samuel Müller mentioned the death of Obe Smid and recalled his faith and his sober and earnest life in the service of his church. It is an unquestionable testimonial, coming from one with whom Obe himself had little in common.

It was not quite three years after his death that the majority of the church members (19 out of 30, a total of 52 souls) emigrated to the United States. This emigration began on May 9, 1853, and was completed April 26, 1854. The leaders were Elder Ruurd Johann Smid and Preacher R. J. Symensma. It is hardly possible that the plan was made and executed in so short a time. Nor is there evidence of an emergency situation which might have occurred between 1850 and 1853. And yet, Obe does not mention anything of such plans in his diary. It is true that he kept silence concerning things he did not agree with. For instance, on July 23, 1848, it was agreed in a church meeting by majority vote that the new hymnbook (*Uitgezochte Liederen,* promoted by Ruurd Smid) should be used. This is related in the notebook of texts kept by Grietje Symensma, Ruurd Smid's wife, but Obe does not mention this fact. It may be that he, being opposed to the plans for emigration because he saw them as a flight, as a lack of faith, of not being prepared to meet the suffering which is laid upon the Christian, also avoided them in his account of the happenings in the church and town life. It is also possible that now since the strongest opponent was no longer there, the plans were executed more quickly.

There is no indication anywhere of the source from which these brethren got the idea of going to the United States. It may be presumed that they had heard of or had connection with those people who in 1834 had freed themselves from the Dutch Reformed Church,

in their eyes much too liberal, to return to the ways of the old Calvinist fathers. These people were severely persecuted until 1848, when a new constitution in the Netherlands gave them complete freedom. But in the years between 1834 and 1848 many of them went to the United States where they founded Holland, Michigan, and where they have had their center in Grand Rapids to the present time.

There was still another group with whom the Balk people are known to have had some contact. It was a group known in Dutch church history as the *Zwijndrechtse Nieuwlichters* (innovators). It was a sect which originated in 1816 under the leadership of Stoffel Müller. They propagated their ideal of the first Christian church, community of goods, love, and nonresistance, and the rejection of civil marriages and military service. The movement grew for a time. As merchants they went through the country by boat propagating their ideas, and in Obe Smid's diary there is an entry on January 7, 1824, that two men and a woman from the neighborhood of Dordrecht (that is where the first colony of this group was) came to Balk selling matches. All three came to the Smid home; they were humble in clothing; they objected strongly with much proof from the Scriptures, to pride and the lust of the eye, which had been the beginning of the fall of Christianity. They rejected infant baptism and were strongly opposed to bearing arms. I would not let this pass, says Obe, because there are so few in our time who think that way. But he adds that much is told about them that he would not account for.

Furthermore in one of his other writings Obe quotes a book by Stoffel Müller, the leader of this group, titled *The Eternal Gospel*; but Smid says that though there is much good in it, he must object to several parts of it that seem foolish to him. After Müller's death the movement declined. In 1843 the group in Zwijndrecht (near Dordrecht) was dissolved, and in 1846 the other group at Mydrecht (in the neighborhood of Aalsmeer). In 1863 some of the former members of this group joined the Mormons of North America. Is it possible that this is a clue to the source from whence the emigrants from Balk got their idea of going to the new world?

The question also arises whether it was purely religious reasons that urged them to leave Holland. When they left, the minister of the neighboring Mennonite church at Warns, Douwe J. Gorter, who later became the first minister of the newly organized Balk church, wrote them an open farewell letter which appeared in print. In this he spoke of the many conversations he had with them and stated that it was for the purpose of avoiding military service that they were

departing. He disagreed with them in this and thought it his duty to stay. It must be stated also that Holland did not have universal compulsory service at that time, but we have seen the attitude of the brethren on the question of hiring a substitute.

Certainly escape from things to come with regard to military service was one of the reasons for their departure. But there may have been other reasons too. It was to be expected that sooner or later a Mennonite church of a different structure would be organized in Balk. There were already several Doopsgezinden living in the village, so that in 1854, when only 14 members of the old church were left, the membership grew quickly to about 100. And it would have been very difficult to prevent the younger people who could not adapt themselves to the strict discipline of the old church from joining the new. In fact only two members in 1854 broke connections with the church and turned to the Old Reformed Church. Besides this there were no doubt material reasons which encouraged the emigration, especially in the case of farmers like Ruurd Smid and R. J. Symensma. A report of their emigration mentioned the high taxes. The agricultural situation was not too good in those days in Friesland, not even in the sandy soil of the southwest, where Balk was situated. Obe the blacksmith and bachelor probably did not appreciate this factor as much as the others did, who saw the difficulty of procuring farms for their growing sons.

All of these factors together doubtless led the brethren at Balk to their decision, and so they emigrated as so many of their countrymen did in those years, but not quite for the same reasons. It may be there was weakness in them; it may be that it was a sort of escape; it may be that under Ruurd Smid's leadership some signs of dissolution of the old church were becoming visible. It may also be that they expected some awakening of their spiritual life out of this new common enterprise. And certainly the adventure must have bound them closer together. We know almost nothing about their early years in America. The difficulties must have been many and great. Though Ruurd Smid lived until 1893 and his wife until 1911, they did not continue as a church of their own. Perhaps the group was too small. There were contacts with other Mennonites of Swiss-German descent, but few of the descendants of immigrants from Balk joined the Mennonite Church. It is just as in the old country, where none of the descendants are found in the church at Balk. In the latter case, however, there is at Woudsend, three and one-half miles distant from Balk, a small Mennonite church of 30 members almost all of whom are descendants of the Balk people.

We cannot give a reason for this. Does it lie in the nature of a very traditionalist group, that when tradition fades away total dissolution is at hand? We may learn then from the history of the Balk Mennonites that traditions must be thought over in every generation, and that they must have a real basis to live on. Ours is a time of great change. We have the duty and the privilege of continually rethinking our Anabaptist-Mennonite heritage. Only in that way can we stand the test; only in that way will we remain true to the faith of our fathers and really obedient to our God.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE GOSHEN COLLEGE LIBRARY CONCERNING THE BALK MENNONITES

A. Nine sermons written by Obe Johannes Smid:
   1. On Matt. 2:1-12, delivered Jan. 17, 1830, and Jan. 6, 1850.
   2. On I Cor. 15:58, Feb. 16, 1834 ff., until 1847.
   3. On Eccl. 12:3 (about education), May 8, 1836.
   4. On I John 2:1, 2 (probably not his own work), Aug. 5, 1836.
   5. On Eccl. 8:11, 12, 13 (against evil), Oct. 7, 1838, 1845.
   6. On II Tim. 4:2, May 24, 1840.
   7. On Luke 12:43, Aug. 16, 1846.
   8. On Heb. 3:14, May 2, 1847, day of prayer.
   9. On II Peter 3:9, not dated.

B. A preface, interlude and conclusion (sort of liturgy for church service) by Obe Johannes Smid, Oct. 22, 1843.

C. Eight tracts written by Obe Johannes Smid:
   1. Concerning buying a substitute (of 1830, copied 1838).
   2. Against wearing of a leather cap, etc., Dec. 15, 1833.
   3. Against pride, lasciviousness, etc. (3 copies), Aug. 23, 1834, Nov. 9, 1840, and undated.
   4. Discovery of pretense and lack of neighborly love in consenting to killing through someone else, Feb. 3, 1838.
   5. Proof of liberty for the followers of Christ to give money to the authorities for warfare instead of giving a man to someone's place, Feb. 6, 1838.
   6. Glory of old age. Proof that long life is a blessing of God, April 24, 1838.
   7. Rejection of outward adorning. A praise of simplicity in dress, etc., Nov. 7, 1849.
   8. Brotherly punishment (about banishing and shunning). This tract probably not his own work, for the language is of the 17th century. Not dated.

D. Three collections of Scripture quotations by Obe J. Smid:
   1. Concerning nonresistance, Dec. 4, 1830.
   2. Concerning the test of true faith (twice), Oct. 12, & Nov. 14, 1831.

E. Two Memorial Books (diaries) written by Obe J. Smid:
   1. For 1815-17.
   2. For 1819-49. In these books he writes about facts and people in the church and the town of Balk. In the second book is a list of members of the Balk church and a register of the Smid family.

F. Six copies and collections of copies of works of earlier writers copied by Obe Joh. Smid:
   1. Dirk Philips, The Mission of Preachers, Sept. 30, 1831.
   2. Some remarks of Claes Claesz (a 17th-century elder at Blokzijl) about paying taxes, Nov. 4, 1844.
   3. Some quotations of Menno Simons without date.
   4. Pieter Jansz Twisck, a fatherly gift (work about education and the duties of parents and children toward each other) without date.
   5. Excerpts from the *Martyrs' Mirror* by T. van Braght, and from writers such as Joost Hendriks, Jan Willems, Pieter Jansz Twisck, Willem Wynantz, Claes Claesz, without date.
   6. Translation of a Quaker work by Robert Barclay without a date.

G. Two manuscripts by Obe J. Smid:
   1. A treatise on nonresistance, July 12, 1839.
   2. A book of expositions of Bible texts, 1835-44.

H. Ten books of texts (in these books are written the texts and names of preachers):
   2 by Obe J. Smid covering 1808-12 and 1823-29.
   4 by Ruurd Johannes Smid, 1814-18; 1822-29; 1829-45; 1850-70.
   1 by Akke Johannes Smid (their sister), 1820-28.
   2 by Grietje Jakobs Symensma (Ruurd's wife), 1845-50; 1881-95.
   1 by unknown author, 1836-43.

I. Seven booklets written by Ruurd Johannes Smid:
   1 memorial book covering 1815-33.
   2 books with songs, Biblical riddles, etc.
   3 question books (herein a written copy of "The School of Virtue" by Thieleman van Braght, which was used in Balk as a catechism for the use of the youth).
   1 book with extracts from Pieter Boudewyns and other authors.

THE BALK DUTCH SETTLEMENT NEAR GOSHEN, INDIANA, 1853-1889

MARIE YODER*

In order to explain why the Salem Mennonite Church located southwest of Goshen, Indiana, was organized we must go back to the province of Friesland, Holland. In the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* H. C. Barthel, a minister born in northern Friesland, who preached in Balk from 1912 to 1916, gives us a good picture of the life of the Mennonites in Balk during the nineteenth century:

Balk is a town in the southwestern corner of the province of Friesland. It is the county seat of Gaasterland County. Balk was the center of the Mennonite congregation, the members of which were located in several towns. The history of this church falls into two parts, with the year 1854 as the dividing point.

Probably there was a Mennonite congregation very early in the history of Balk. Leenaert Bouwens baptized 36 persons, and he died in 1578. The congregation was never large; the membership was never over one hundred. There were difficulties which caused a decrease in membership. In 1720 there were 70 members and in 1763 there were only 10. It is not known why this decrease came about. Later on there was an increase in membership and in 1854 there were between 30 and 35 members.

In 1625 the congregation began to use a little church and until 1863 this church was in use. Where they met before 1625 is not known. The Balk congregation belonged to the Society of Old Frisians and also to the Society of Pieter Jeltjes Volk, and is one of the congregations where the old Doopsgezinde principles were practiced the longest. Until 1845 they did not have educated preachers, but they were selected by the congregation. Ministers who were selected by the congregation were not allowed to refuse the choice of the group which chose them.

The arrangement of the church and the service was simple, and the elder who preached stood before a simple pulpit. The audience, the women as well as the men, sat on benches without backs. The benches, like all other furnishings of the church, were of unpainted wood.

In the services they had silent prayer. Footwashing, symbolical of brotherhood, was not practiced. However, when there was a guest preacher they did observe footwashing and the kiss of charity in the home of the host. The ban was used if necessary. It was used in 1806 when there was a marriage outside the Mennonite congregation. Baptismal services and communion were observed once a year. The equipment for the communion was of simple, heavy earthenware.

Simplicity was also found in the homes of the members. They had only the necessary furniture and that was as simple as possible. The one luxury which they enjoyed, however, was often a bookstand where they read for themselves books of church doctrine.

In clothing they were also as simple as possible. They wore no gold nor silver. Their principle of simplicity in clothing was adhered to

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longer than any of their church traditions. Alcoholic drinks and tobacco were not used and they did not offer them to anyone who came to their homes. Later on, tobacco was used in their homes and was offered to guests.

To become a member of the congregation special instruction was not needed, but they did require a knowledge of *The School of Virtue* by Thieleman van Braght, and *Instruction in Christian Faith* by Boudewyns. One of the elders taught these books to the people on Sunday afternoons. The first book was for young people and the second was for the older group. Both books were reprinted in 1824 and 1825 by the so-called "fine" Mennonites. When a member was taken into the congregation, the congregation first decided whether he was to be accepted.

Military service caused the members much grief. They asked for consideration for exemption by their government, but that was not granted. They tried to stay out of the service by hiring a substitute. In emergencies, the church treasurer helped pay this fee.

Until 1844 the congregation was independent. It was not a member of the Allgemeene Doopsgezinde Societeit (General Mennonite Conference), neither of the Frisian Conference. Eventually it did join the A.D.S., but asked that it might continue to use its lay preachers. In the congregation there were enough untrained brethren who were able to preach the Gospel.

Two congregations, the Giethoorn and the Aalsmeer, were on friendly terms with Balk. These did not belong to the A.D.S. Once a year a guest preacher from Aalsmeer came to Balk. On this Sunday, there were two services.

A change came in 1853. A part of their congregation went to America because they wanted to escape military service. From May 9, 1853, until April 7 to 26, 1854, several families left for the new world. Fifty-two souls came, of which nineteen were members of the congregation. Two ministers, R. J. Smid and R. J. Symensma, came with the group. Elder Haitje Hanjes Visser stayed in Holland as the only preacher of the Balk group, with fourteen members.

A word might be said here regarding the "fine" Mennonites to whom Barthel refers in the above article. These Mennonites were the very conservative group who clung to the oldest customs and traditions. They did not use, for example, anything but the Dutch *Biestkens* Bible. When new hymnbooks were being used by many Mennonites in Holland, this Balk group still clung to the very old songbook, the *Klein-Hoorns-Liedboek*.

Since Barthel wrote the above account of the Balk group, there has been discovered in America, near Goshen, Indiana, the library of Preacher R. J. Smid who came to America with the migration in 1853. In this collection of books are a number of copies of the two very old hymnbooks of the "fine" Mennonites mentioned above, which were brought here because these were what they used in their worship in Holland. Because these books were not used by the majority of the people in Holland, this small group had to bear the expense of having them reprinted. Barthel made mention of the re-

printing of the two instruction books in 1824 and 1825, but in a diary of Obe Smid, which his brother R. J. Smid brought with him to America, is the following quotation: "This year (1824) my father, Johannes Obes Smid, gave order to reprint *The School of Virtue* at his own expense. On August 6 we received 80 copies and on August 20 another 100 copies. Now we have many copies of what was almost extinct." Later we find this entry: "July 1825. My father, Johannes Obes Smid, had *Instruction in Christian Faith* reprinted at his own expense."

Recorded in Obe Smid's diary is also an entry regarding the reprinting of their hymnbooks in 1814. The expense of this was borne by individual members of the congregation. A man and his wife were banished from the church for stealing; she, because she stole, and he, because he knew of it and saw the things she stole.

One more word might be said about this Holland group before we begin with the migration of the church to America and finally to west of New Paris, near Goshen, Indiana, where they located near the place where the Salem church now stands.

On July 10, 1842, Ruurd Jacobs Symensma was ordained to the ministry at 25 years of age by Meine Obes Smid. He was elected by the members. His first sermon was from Col. 4:2. On August 18, 1847, Ruurd Johannes Smid was elected to the ministry at 34 years of age. On September 12, he was ordained to the ministry by Haite Haantjes, and on February 13, 1848, he delivered his first sermon, using I Tim. 4:16 for his text.

These two ministers, it will be remembered, were the two men who came with the Dutch group; who in order to escape the strict military service law and very high taxes, and who because of their reluctance to follow their more liberal-minded Dutch brethren in discarding the historic Mennonite principles, decided to come to America.

Some years previous to this, a group of Dutch (not Mennonites) had come to America and had settled near Grand Rapids, Michigan. The Dutch Mennonites had contact with these people and had learned of the religious liberties and the possibility of securing homes at very reasonable prices in America. It was through this group that they heard of the Pennsylvania Mennonites, Dunkers, River Brethren, and of the plain people in general, whose conduct and nonresistant way of life were very similar to the ideals of the Holland Mennonites, and who lived in a region where there was land for sale, and where there were no Indians nor rough people. Although

Pennsylvania had many Mennonites, these Hollanders chose to go farther west because land was cheaper in Indiana.

On May 9, 1853, the first colony of Balk Mennonites left Europe on the ship *Glasgow* for America. To date very little information has been found regarding their trip. But on July 4, 1853, they arrived at the New York Harbor. Information concerning their first days in America was obtained from a personal visit to Albert Stump, who is a grandson of R. J. Smid and an Indianapolis attorney, and from Mrs. Samuel Metzler, whose father gave the Dutch group shelter during its first weeks in America.

When this colony arrived in New York, the shipmaster told them that there were no fixed rates on the railroads in America, and that the rates on the Lake Shore Company were cheaper than the rates on the Buffalo and Mississippi Company. Both of these railroads could have brought them into the region where they wished to settle, but for reasons of economy they chose the route with the cheaper rates.

In 1851 the Lake Shore and Michigan Railway Company (subsequently the New York Central) built a railroad from Toledo to Chicago. A year later a stub was extended from Elkhart to Goshen. This factor was responsible for making Goshen the terminus of their journey, because when they left Elkhart and took a train for Goshen, they found that the line ended at Goshen. No reason for their choice of Goshen has been discovered.

We cannot imagine the excitement that the daily arrival of those first trains caused in the village of Goshen. Even in 1853, a year after the spur had been built into Goshen, the residents of the village and the farmers from the country gathered at the station to see the train arrive. On the day that the Hollanders arrived, two boys, Daniel and Solomon Stump (sons of Noah Stump, a River Brethren, who had settled on a farm near New Paris some years before this), waited with boyish excitement as the great, wood-burning engine, hauling a train of flat cars, one or two coaches, and a caboose, pulled into the station. It was the thrill of their lives to stand and just look! But as they looked this morning, and watched the travelers alight from the train, they saw something else that greatly interested them. A group of people, dressed differently from anyone they knew, and speaking a language that they could not understand, walked into the depot, looking very tired and very much in need of a friend. Through the kindness of the station attendant, Ruurd J. Smid was discovered as one of the group who could speak both Dutch and English. Of course there were no hotels; so the station attendant, seeing their

need of rest until they could build homes, found places for the women and children to stay for the night in homes in Goshen.

Daniel and Solomon Stump watched these people until they were taken from the station and then hurried home to tell their family of the exciting news. Little did they expect to see the men a few weeks later within their own home.

The Holland men left Goshen that same day to look for a place to settle. Just how they found their way to the Dan Christophel farm is not known. But at the invitation of the Christophel family they brought their families to Dan Christophel's and lived on their farm for several weeks. Every day the men continued to search for a place where they could buy land and build homes for themselves. One evening as they were walking down what is known today as the "Holland Settlement Road," they neared the Noah Stump home just as the family was having its family worship. The congenial Stump family invited the men in and asked them to join them in their prayers. There is no doubt that this reception in this community had a very favorable influence upon these devout Dutch who had left their country with a longing for just such religious liberty. When the Stumps asked them to stay and help build their new barn they were very willing to accept as recompense the old barn as a "home," to which to bring their families until they could build their own houses. The Stump barn was built very quickly with the help of the sturdy Hollanders, and their families were then moved into the old barn until they could build log houses for themselves. Land had to be cleared, the houses built, and preparations made for some sort of food supply for the winter months ahead.

The early days were very difficult ones for the Dutch. One great difficulty was the language barrier. The story is told of Margaret Smid who went to the New Paris store one day to buy a lantern. No one in the store could understand what she wanted. Finally, in desperation, she bent over and pretended to be walking cautiously through the woods and cried, "Light! a light! To walk in woods by night."

Among the 52 Hollanders (nineteen of whom were members of this first Holland church) were such names as: Smid, Symensma, Postma, Vandeveer, Rystraw, Swart, DeVries, Nymyer, Douma, De Jong, Pelsma, Duker, Duisterhout (Darkwood), Hygema, Visser, Krull, Brunsma, Hytema, and Tromp. Not all of these were Mennonites, but they all lived and settled in the same community west of New Paris, near the site of the present Salem church. According to information obtained from the Whitehead cemetery, Preacher Symensma's

mother, who came with them from Holland, was the oldest member of the group. She was Mrs. Martha Symensma (1773-1855). Ruurd Symensma was born in 1816 and died a year after they arrived in America (1854). Ruurd J. Smid (1814-93) served the church until he was nearly 80 years of age. His wife Margaret, a sister of Ruurd Symensma (1820-1911), kept diaries which have been found recently and which have given us valuable information regarding the early days of the church in America. Information and data used hereafter regarding the early days of the church have been obtained largely from these diaries and manuscripts preserved by the descendants of these Holland forefathers.

Possibly somewhere there is a history, a diary, of one of these early Hollanders that tells of their life, joys, and sorrows for the next eighteen years of their stay in America. To date none has been found. But after 1881 there are records from which we know something of the next fourteen years. There has been found a priceless "text book" of the wife of this first minister, Mrs. Ruurd J. Smith (the Dutch form "Smid" was dropped and the American "Smith" was used by Ruurd J. Smid and his family). This book gives us some facts about the early days of the Holland church and of the beginnings of the Salem church. Mrs. Smith began this text book on February 13, 1881. On the first page she has written this poem:

(Translation)

"If it please the Lord
That I may stay healthy,
With my hands I hope
To write texts in this book.

"Concerning our age,
Our life here on earth
Will be only short,
But death will find us
Early ready for eternity.

"Or if Thou in Thy Wisdom
Wilt give us a long life,
Leave, wherever we may lose,
Us not alone in our old age.

"And if our end will be then, O Lord,
Look upon us with mercy,
That we may have peace in our hearts,
For the sake of Jesus' blood."

This diary is really a "text book," for in it are recorded very faithfully the texts of each service which the Holland couple attended. The text book is also a diary, for it contains very personal things such as weddings, deaths, births, and family visits. It contains what we know of the spiritual life of Mrs. Smith. She was a quiet woman whose testimony over and over in her diary was simply "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."

In the *Minutes of the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference* is the statement: "After coming to their new homes they had preaching services in the Rystraw home every four weeks for nearly twenty years." This statement cannot be disproved, but according to Mrs. Smith's diary, beginning eighteen years after they were in America, they were having services at the Whitehead schoolhouse every two weeks. In other American sources mention is made of a Neff schoolhouse, but never is there any mention of a Whitehead schoolhouse. In an atlas dated 1874, it is found that Dan Neff owned land across the road from the schoolhouse in which the Dutch people worshiped. This schoolhouse was on land belonging to H. S. Whitehead. Mrs. Smith regularly mentions the "Holland meetings in Whitehead schoolhouse."

Furthermore, before the Dutch arrived in America, there was a group of Mennonites who had settled west and north of the Dan Christophel farm, and in 1849 a church had been erected for this group in which to worship. This church, the Yellow Creek church, was the first Mennonite church west of Goshen. These Mennonites were for the greater part from Swiss-German stock. Possibly due to the slow means of travel, a second log meetinghouse was erected on the Dan Christophel farm. It was here that the Mennonites living in this immediate vicinity met for worship every second Sunday. Whether or not the German Mennonites met every Sunday is not known, but on the Sunday when there was no Holland meeting, the Smiths worshiped with the German Mennonites.

Mrs. Smith records in her text book, "Meeting at Jan Belts," every second Sunday. Not until 1887 does she mention the "Christophel Meeting House." Whether or not the German Mennonites ever met in the Jan Belt home for some time is not known. But the Jan Belts (according to the 1874 Atlas) were Hollanders and they owned land across from the Dan Christophel farm. Since the Smiths and Belts were Holland friends, it may be logical to conclude that Mrs. Smith mentioned the name of her good friends, the Jan Belts, instead of referring to a meeting at the "Christophel Meeting House."

The Hollanders, particularly the Smith family, worshiped regularly at the services "at Jan Belts," on the Sunday when there was no Holland service. Naturally, in those early pioneer days, there were times when services had to be canceled due to bad weather. Often in Mrs. Smith's diary this was recorded, especially during the winter months. There were times when there were very few services between October 15 and March or April of the following spring.

On May 1, 1881, is found this entry: "Fear for rain. Not to German meeting today." The early services at the Christophel church were, without a doubt, conducted in German. Communion services for both the Mennonites and the Dutch Mennonites were held at the Yellow Creek church. Sometimes people walked as far as eleven miles to attend the communion service.

Special meetings were called occasionally. On August 3, 1881, a Wednesday *evening* meeting was held when a teacher from Maryland spoke. Special services were planned for such occasions as Ascension Day, Pentecost, Easter, Good Friday; and every August there was a Harvest Day service, at which time Mrs. Smith would record: "Harvest Meeting. Thanksgiving for the harvest" (August 18, 1881). On November 2, 1883, she records that the government ordered a Thanksgiving Day. The church observed these days, but they continued to have a day of "thanksgiving for the harvest" each August. It is not known when this was discontinued, for at the close of her diary in 1895, it was still observed at the Salem church.

Many details of the early history of these congregations remain obscure. It seems clear however, that the Yellow Creek Swiss-German settlement was founded about 1843 and that the meetinghouse by this name was erected in 1849. As the settlement expanded other meetinghouses were erected, as Olive to the northwest, Holdeman to the west, and Christophels and Blossers to the south and east, all of whom, however, were regarded as a part of the Yellow Creek congregation. The Christophel church was located two and one-fourth miles east of Foraker in the midst of the Dutch settlement. Because of language differences the Dutch Mennonites had their own services in private homes every four weeks, and later evidently every two weeks. Frequently if not always they met with the German-speaking brethren at Christophels on those Sundays when there was no Dutch service. They were one in faith with the German-speaking Mennonites. Along with the other outlying meetings they were considered a part of the Yellow Creek congregation, and along with the members of these outlying meetings they attended baptismal and communion services at the Yellow Creek meetinghouse. The minutes

of the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference for the year 1874, for example, report R. J. Smith as one of the bishops present. D. K. Cassel's, *History of the Mennonites* (1888) refers to "the Christophel Church, including the Holland brethren, under charge of R. J. Schmidt."

By this time, however, Smith was 75 years old and nearing the end of his life. The outlying meetinghouses seem to have been no longer serviceable, that at Christophels apparently in a state of decay. The time had also arrived for a more formal organization of local congregations. In 1889, therefore, a new congregation was organized and a new meetinghouse erected "nearly half way between Yellow Creek and the Neff school house, also about half way between the Christophel Church and the Blosser Church." The new church was called Salem and the Holland brethren made up about one half of its membership.

Even after the organization of the new congregation it continued to be closely attached to Yellow Creek. On October 13, 1889, communion services were held at Yellow Creek and in the evening a service was planned for Salem. After this, evening services were mentioned occasionally, sometimes for two nights in succession, especially when guest speakers visited the communities. On February 17, 1895, the first evening services of an entire week's duration were announced at the Salem church.

The Salem church is one of the few churches where "stream baptism" is still practiced. It would be interesting to know where this originated, for this is not a general Mennonite practice. However, the Mennonites west of Goshen practiced it from the very beginning. The first mention of baptism in Mrs. Smith's diary is found in 1883. She says: "Five persons are baptized at the Yellow Creek *in* and *with* water." Only twice during the space of the fourteen years which her diary covers was anyone baptized in the meetinghouse. The first instance is recorded as: "Baptismal services. Three people baptized. Two with water in the creek and Hannah (Christophel Smith) in the house." The second person to be baptized in the house on October 31, 1891, was "Martin Fisher baptized by water in the meetinghouse." Usually there were from two to five baptisms. But on two occasions there were a larger number. On June 4, 1892, we find this entry: "Twenty-three persons baptized in and with water in the Yellow Creek by Henry Shaum with the assistance of Shenk from Ohio." On April 14, 1895, ten persons were baptized in the Yellow Creek. On August 9, 1891, she recorded for the first time an after-

noon service for the instruction of those who were to be baptized the next day.

It is not known why Mennonites west of Goshen chose to have stream baptisms. It was practiced at the Yellow Creek as we have seen, and at the Holdeman church some years later, and today all applicants for baptism at the Salem church are allowed to choose the place where they wish to be baptized, in the meetinghouse or in the stream. Possibly half of the applicants today choose stream baptism. The Scriptural basis offered for this is the baptism of Jesus Himself.

Ruurd Smith preached the sermon whenever the Holland group met for worship. A German Mennonite minister preached at the German meetings. Although Smith could speak English, he was timid and preached in German or English only when forced to do so. At one time a minister failed to arrive at the Christophel church. Ruurd was there, and when no minister arrived, he directed the congregation to sing one song after another while he walked to the window many times, anxiously looking for the preacher. Finally, at a late hour, Ruurd Smith walked away from the window, relieved and smiling. The minister had arrived!

After the erection of the Salem church Smith did not preach any sermons in the new meetinghouse. A few times, "because of the lack of preachers, Ruurd had charge of the introduction and Elias Kolb the text" (May 1, 1892); "and Ruurd Smith the beginning" (Oct. 16, 1892). The new church did feel its need for a minister, how ever. On June 6, 1892, at Yellow Creek, the lot for bishop fell upon John F. Funk and he was ordained by Henry Shaum. On October 2, he conducted the communion service at Salem; and on December 10 he preached a sermon regarding the selection of ministers. The candidates for the ministry at that time were Elias Kolb and Jacob Fisher. But on December 10 is this entry: "Henry Weldy preached on John 15. They were not ordaining because there was a disagreeing of opinions." Later, on Saturday, January 7, 1893, she wote: "Council of the church taken about selecting of ministers, but nothing done."

It was not until 1906 that a minister was finally ordained for the Salem church. John H. Bare, who had served as deacon since 1894, was the first resident minister of Salem. In 1918, Bare asked for asistance in the ministry and Ray F. Yoder was ordained. Especially before the death of Bare in 1930 Yoder was quite active in evangelistic work. Because of this extra work, and after he was ordained to the office of bishop on July 4, 1937, he asked for assistance in the work of the ministry. In 1939 Francis E. Freed was ordained as min-

ister. The visiting ministers from nearby who served during the early years of Salem were Noah Metzler, David Burkholder, Henry Shaum, Jonas Loucks, John F. Funk, J. S. Coffman, Samuel Yoder, Henry Weldy, and Aaron Mumaw.

Mrs. Smith's records give a clear picture of the struggles of this early church. As has been mentioned, church services had to be discontinued often due to bad weather. After the October 23, 1887, entry: "Because of the rain only 13 persons in the meeting. Now for a time it will be omitted. God knows if wè will meet again," services were held very spasmodically. In 1888 it was not until April 5 that she wote: "Holland meeting started in Whitehead school house." The next year, services closed again in October and opened in April. Just how smoothly the church was operated prior to this is not certain, but on November 21, 1886, John Neff attended the Dutch meeting and prohibited the use of the schoolhouse for future services. According to the 1874 atlas this Whitehead school was not on his land, but was built on land belonging to H. S. Whitehead. What occasioned this demand remains a mystery. On January 2, 1887, the Dutch worshiped at the "Christophel meetinghouse." This is the first time that the name "Christophel meetinghouse" is used in her diary, and she called it by that name only two or three times. After that, she says that they worshiped "at Jan Belts" as she had before, and because the Christophel church was fast falling into decay.

It was evidently due to Dan Neff's action that the group began to worship at Swoveland's schoolhouse at this time. And for a few Sundays the German Mennonites and the Dutch Mennonites worshiped at the Christophel meetinghouse and at Swoveland's schoolhouse, with Mennonite (German) preaching. On Easter Sunday, April 10, 1886, services were held in the Whitehead schoolhouse again, and they continued to have services there especially during the summer months for the next two years. From April 7, 1889, until June 30, 1889, they met alternately at the Whitehead school and at the Swoveland school.

On June 30, Mrs. Smith wrote: "Whiteheads school. Ruurd Smith. John 3:1-10. The last Holland meeting!" Services were held at the Swoveland school next Sunday. Although the final entry of the Dutch meetings undoubtedly carried sadness, yet the July 28, 1889, entry rings with a note of thanksgiving and rejoicing: "For the first time in the new meetinghouse. David Burkholder preached first (Isa. 56:7) and Henry Shaum second (John 4:21-24)." On August 11: "In the new meetinghouse. By majority of votes it is decided to call the new meetinghouse Salem."

Just a few more words might be said regarding the Smith family. Mrs. Smith says on May 13, 1890: "All of our children and grandchildren were at home for our fiftieth wedding anniversary. They gave us a spring bed as a present." The next entries will speak for themselves: April 16, 1893: "This was the last time Ruurd and I were together in the meeting." April 20: "Ruurd got sick." April 26: "In the morning at 4:00, he died; he was 79 years 8 months and 4 days of age." November 26, "This was the first time since Ruurd's death, and before, that I attended alone." May 12, 1895: "I was the only one of our family who was there."

FROM THE PALATINATE TO FRONTIER OHIO: THE RISSER LETTERS (1832-1833)

Translated and Edited by Don Yoder*

The publication in 1931 of the Martin Mellinger Correspondence, by Harold S. Bender, made a pioneer contribution to Mennonite social history. For the first time we had a relatively full glimpse into the life and thought of a Pennsylvania Mennonite leader of the early nineteenth century. We had a look into his concern for his brethren in other states, his continuing interest in the Germany that he had left in 1772, and his family concerns. The figure of Martin Mellinger (1752-1842), the Palatine emigrant whose activities as deacon at Lampeter Meetinghouse caused a grateful generation to speak of the meetinghouse as "Mellinger's," became for students of Mennonite history a key figure, about whom more was known than any other leader of his generation.

We are happy therefore to add to that knowledge in publishing the emigrant letters of Johannes and Katharina Risser describing their journey from the Palatinate to America in 1832. In the autumn of 1954, while on a research tour through the Rhineland with Dr. Fritz Braun, Director of the *Heimatstelle Pfalz* at Kaiserslautern in the Palatinate, we were enabled to discover these letters sent from America by the Rissers to relatives in Germany. They describe a visit to the Mellinger home in Lampeter Township, Lancaster County, on their way westward. They comment on its well-regulated management, the harmony of the household with its many members young and old, its hospitality to visitors, its charity, its piety. The picture Katharina Risser pens for us in her letter from her Uncle Martin Mellinger's home in 1832 is one of our finest accounts of life in a Pennsylvania Mennonite family in the nineteenth century.

Additional letters deal with the perils of the sea voyage, the difficulties experienced by emigration companies in dealing with money matters, the incidence of seasickness, the problems of buying land in America, the tone of life in frontier America as compared with the thickly settled rural villages of Germany. The letters by Katharina are alive with feminine observations, those by her dependable husband a bit more stolid, more concerned with masculine problems of money, emigration, navigation, land purchase, farming methods. Together they present us with an unparalleled picture, viewed through

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the eyes of both husband and wife, of the emigration of a Mennonite family in the nineteenth century from the Palatinate to frontier Ohio.

Johannes Risser was born at Friedelsheim, in the Palatinate, in 1787, son of Johannes Risser and his wife Maria Strohm. In 1813 he was married at Kindenheim to Katharina Weber, daughter of Johannes and Katharina (Möllinger) Weber. Katharina (Möllinger) Weber was a sister of the Martin and Jacob Möllinger (Mellinger) of Lancaster County who had emigrated in 1772. From 1825 until his emigration in 1832 Johannes Risser served as preacher in the Friedelsheim Mennonite congregation, and after his settlement in Ohio served as preacher there also. The Rissers brought with them to America nine children and a hired girl Philippine who married Jacob Beutler after her arrival in the United States.

It was in the farm home of Emil Würz, Mennonite farmer at Büdesheim in the Palatinate, that the Risser Letters came to light, in the form of clippings from a Worms newspaper, dating possibly from 40 to 50 years ago. Since they were sent to the same persons as the Martin Mellinger Correspondence, the Weber family of Kindenheim, they are obviously from the same source as the Mellinger Letters, the family Schmitt-Weber of Worms, from whom Dr. Bender received permission to publish the Mellinger Letters. We wish to thank Herr Würz for his kindness in allowing us to copy them, and thanks are due also to Dr. Braun and the *Heimatstelle Pfalz* for the German transcription. The few missing portions of the letters will be filled out if and when the original letters come to light.

I

FROM KATHARINA RISSER TO ELISABETH LEISY IN FRIEDELSHEIM

Bremen, July 14, 1832

Precious and Dearly Beloved Sister!

Last evening we arrived here safe and sound. The children are in especially good spirits. I have just laid little Marie on the straw where she is fast asleep. We could even have had beds, but I would rather sleep on our own beds. Up to this point in our journey things have gone quite well. Only a few days did we get bad meals—lettuce prepared with sugar and bread black as a hat—you can imagine how we bit into it! The Marburg region up to here is very poor, and that's the reason we had such bad board. I compensated myself with coffee, which is drunk plentifully and is also pretty good.

You just can't imagine how far behind the times these people are. About 15 to 20 hours, where we traveled through, they have entry, barn, cowstable, kitchen cupboard, with smoked meats hanging up above and who knows what else—all in one room. I have even seen a bed in one and that often in nice houses with big curtains at the windows. In not a single barnyard do you see any manure, the gardens are poor, that they ex-

cited my pity. At the most distinguished houses you don't see a regular garden. We came through desolate regions, where we heard not even a little bird singing. Often I thought we were in the Egyptian Desert.

In Cassel we saw the soldiers on parade in the presence of the Crown Prince and many officers, with splendid music! We had little Lotta along too. She looked quite sick with fear. She always drew back, while we wanted to go forward. Her father said, "Listen, how pretty it is!" "Yes," said she, "it is pretty, but they shoot you dead." We even saw the Duchess driving out with six horses—a monstrous state! Cassel is a very lovely, lovely town. We went on foot through Marburg, a very ancient city with four-story houses, where every story projects a little. We thought much of our dear Stilling,[1] how he had suffered and endured here. Only the men went through Göttingen. We drove by on the hill.

Now in Bremen we are as if in another world—good things to eat, lively and beautiful, you understand the people better too than in the villages. There we didn't understand them at all and they didn't understand us. Everywhere we went the children drew attention to themselves, especially our dear little Marie. "That's a sin and a shame—these lovely children in America!" "These are nice boys and nice girls!" In Cassel they kept saying to little Marie, "You dear sweet little girl, how many dear little girls do you have like this?" We frequently had to laugh.

Sunday—this morning—we all got up well and happy, praise and thanks be unto the Lord for it! My faith grows stronger with every passing day, which I recognize as a great grace. I can really say with David: "The Lord is good and his mercy endureth forever," and so I trust He will get us safely across. I am so well! And you will scarcely believe it when I say that many times on the journey I went a whole hour on foot. I didn't even have toothache once, my stomach was quite good too, the whole time, and many days I feel nothing at all of my old complaint. Once again praise and thanksgiving for all Love from now to eternity!

Five o'clock in the afternoon. We have just come from the Weser. We wanted to visit our friend Bötcher, who already has been living on the ship for eight days on the Weser and will not leave till the 20th. They were complaining a lot, things were going badly with them. We are now head over heels in work again, till the necessary provisions are laid by and everything is in order. I would gladly write to every one of you, at Quärnheim, Biedesheim, and my dear mother and brothers and sisters, but here it is impossible, so take this little letter in common. Then send it soon to Kindenheim, so my dear brother Jacob will learn that we got his letter this morning.

Day after tomorrow then we are to embark. Pray for us that our dear Saviour will stand by us and accompany us. We need His help so very much. Fare you well, all you dear ones, keep loving us and we greet you and kiss you with all our heart. Greet for me all relations and friends, namely Mrs. Mössing our neighbor, and Schnebel's, also give a hearty greeting to H. Köster's for me. And I think so often of them with love. Give our true friend Latscha, with his wife and children, a heartfelt greeting for me. Last evening I thought he was at the door, and I heard his voice—was it perhaps his spirit? Once again I greet you all, near and far, with an affectionate greeting and commend you to the protection of God.

So much from your loving

Katharina Risser

1 Readers of the Mellinger correspondence (MQR, January 1931) will recall Martin Mellinger's intense interest in the devotional and other writings of the Rhineland pietistic and mystic Jung-Stilling (1740-1817), some of which were reprinted in Pennsylvania.

Little Lotta said a hearty greeting to dear cousins Lisbeth and Marige and when she gets to America she wants to write them a little letter. She's standing beside me and says greet Cousin Jacob too and little Cousin Beth and she should visit us soon in America. I asked her: "Don't you know anything more?" She says she will think it over. She is thinking it over, now she says, "All the people should send her a greeting, those at the farm should all greet her, Cousin Latscha and Miss Latscha and Lisbeth and Leysy's little Marie."

I

KATHARINA RISSER TO HER FAMILY

On board the *Elisabeth*
July 25, 1832

Dearly beloved Mother, Brothers and Sisters and Friends!

So far eight days on the water and no prospect of getting on, quite contrary wind and at times frightfully stormy weather, most of the time rain and so cold that most of the time I spend on deck with my coat on. If we didn't know that God cares for His children like a loving Father, indeed has already given us so many signs of His goodness and love, has led us on our journey thus far so paternally and kept us well, we could get discouraged. But no, doubts and worries can roll away with the raging waves, our anchor to which we hold shall be our Lord, and I firmly believe, He will lead us. Our letters from Bremen are in your hands by now, and I feel compelled [. . .], dear ones, to inform you of our journey until now, before we go on.

On the 17th we were to have embarked. There was still so much to be taken care of, that we sent off our boys on the skiff on which our effects were stored, and at 5 o'clock the morning of the 18th we went with our three girls into the steamer. We had to go a good half hour to get to the ship, where we arrived out of breath. The wind was blowing very cold, and we went to the cabin where we got a good rest and in five hours' time arrived at Brake, twelve hours from Bremen. Lisbeth, Bebel Bergtholt, and his wife, took our three girls in a boat, my husband and I and Rothen (?) went into a second, and stronger and stronger wind, so that there were great waves. You can imagine how we were feeling, the boys [gone] a day before, then the girls and finally us—to be so separated was no small matter to me!

I commended us all into the hand of the Lord and was still. The skiff with the girls went ahead some distance and my eye followed as far as it could. Afterwards Lisbeth told me that little Marie would have liked to play in the waves, if she had been able to. The skiff with the girls landed in Brake and our skipper took us right to our ship. I didn't know what was to be done and said, "Why are we going onto our ship then?" I don't know what the reply was. Enough, our skiff stopped, and we had to climb more than a story high up a rope ladder, that was surely no small matter for me. Now there was still not a soul on board but the sailors, who were busy loading cargo into our ship, with constant singing, which always ended with a "hola la la," quite rhythmic. In the beginning I thought there were a few merry brethren, but became aware that it belongs to their trade. My husband went after the small children, came back and said, I should go into the hotel, which seemed impossible to me, while the wind and waves were raging very strong. He went away again, fetched me something for dinner, and I still stayed on my ship.

Now it's hard to give advice in a case like this. To stay here and leave the little children on shore, just could not be. To fetch the children into

the ship—we had no bed (the boys had the beds in their skiff). And the wind was blowing awfully. What was to be done? So I remained sitting until five o'clock in the afternoon. Meanwhile the sailors came one after another and said, "Here, you must take these bedsteads—they are the best—you are least likely to get seasick in them." All at once I took my heart in my two hands, commended myself to God, and climbed down the rope ladder in the full wind, where a skiff stood ready, which took me to land. Bergtholt was standing on the shore and took me to our children. It was funny for me, they all sprang up—to them it was almost as if a ghost were coming—my little Marie flew into my arms! I gave heartfelt thanks to God, that He had brought me so safely to my family again. But now our boys were still behind, the wind was blowing ever more violently, night came on, and they still were not here. The next day about eleven o'clock they arrived. They looked very sick—

[The foregoing was written by Katharina Risser. From here on her husband writes]—for they had not slept for two nights and got nothing hot to eat—yet they were all well. We now took them to our hotel and ate dinner together, where a good dinner made everything all right again. Now our boys went on board, to live there and to stay there till New York, and the beds were made ready. But we, my husband and I, and the three children and Philibine stayed another night in our hotel, to follow them on the next day, which we did.

Up to Monday we had the same weather and contrary winds, so that we had to lie still. Now the weather became favorable and we went to Bremerhaven where we were then ten (?) hours further, and arrived here at noon and cast anchor. The weather got stormy again, rainy and cold, so that you would think we are living in October. We thought longingly of home, what kind of weather you would be having, since we thought you would be in the midst of harvest. Six or seven ships came together here, which with us were waiting on the good wind.

Up until today, the 27th, the same weather, but today the weather got very nice again, and indeed, the wind turned so much in our favor, that we had a very, very pleasant journey. Three ships left with us, the one a quarter of an hour before us, the second a short distance behind us. So until ten o'clock. Now the first became the last, and the second went a hundred paces past us and on ahead in triumph. For us country people there can be hardly anything which offers us a more majestic sight than a ship sailing with full sails.—At Prake we got a special pilot, who conducts us into the open sea, possibly on account of the fact that these people are better acquainted with channels and know the dangerous places better.

It is 12:30. Everyone is at dinner—pea soup and bacon. I am writing here alone, because our pilot will soon turn back, and he is to take this letter along.

Now all you dear ones, another hour and we sail the sea! Know therefore that we are all still quite well, I, my wife, and children. Our little Marie is continuing especially well and in good spirits, only our little Lisbeth has been for several days not so lively as usual, but is not sick, yet it is this way with some people—who complain of being unwell, have even vomited already, and probably are struggling with seasickness. Know that I am quite keenly anticipating the moment when I can describe our sea journey to you, and can at the same time reveal the feelings of my heart to you. Know that we have an honest captain, who as it appears understands navigation very well, a good ship and sailors, whose industry and morality deserve admiration. Only we should have gone, my wife and

I and the three children, into the cabin, as indeed I wanted to. Yet my wife feels nothing any more of her complaint, has no toothache any more and still has not once had a queasy stomach—a true wonder. Mr. Braun greets his relatives again from here many times, is in very good spirits and will write soon from America.—Don't you wait to write till you have letters from us.—I close and must close and commend you all and us on the ship into the gracious hand of God. Forward this letter to all the relatives.
Address:
Mr. Jacob Weber 2.
in Kindenheim
in Rheinbaiern.

Your ever faithful
J o h [a n n e s] R i s s e r
(in the name of his wife)

III

KATHARINA RISSER TO HER FAMILY

Lampetter Township
Lancaster County
October 6, 1832

Dearly beloved Mother and Brothers and Sisters!

First of all our most loving greeting and peace from God our dear heavenly Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ. "Praise the Lord, O my soul!"—so I should like to call out with full heart for ever and ever—"and forget not all his benefits." You too, my dear ones, are surely folding your hands with us, to thank the Lord for the many benefits that we have enjoyed. We do not want to forget it. Our house shall one day with the help of the Lord become a temple, where thank-offerings rise daily. Once again praise and thanksgiving, from now on to all Eternity!

My dear husband wrote you from New York, but I don't know what any more, this much I know, that it was short. Now I set myself before you in spirit and tell you, even though perhaps some of it is already written, and you read it twice. I will begin here to tell of our leaving the harbour.

We sailed through the harbour safely, although it is dangerous, and a few days back, before we got in, a ship wrecked quite close to us, which we saw lying there—so, safely through the harbour and the open sea! But now we all got so sick that none of the womenfolk could raise their heads, except Jacob Wiegner's wife who looked after us all. That was a vomiting beyond measure, from every bedstead one heard moaning and complaining. I was so sick and got so miserable, that many times I thought I could live no longer. You get nausea at all food, and constant pain and vomiting. Almost no one could drink coffee any more, it brought nausea to us all. Even when I heard the mill rattling, I held my nose. In the morning I drank linden blossom tea, that was going so badly with me [. . .]. The children remained in good spirits.

So it went—as the weather, so were we. My dear husband stayed well too, only occasionally had headache and got dizzy. We saw many fish too. Many times in the afternoon the sea was crawling with six to eight pounders and on the sandbank our captain caught three fish, of which one could weigh seventy or eighty pounds. They hung there like little pigs.

In the supposition that you have received our letter from New York, I'll pass over a lot, and hasten on so that I get to the beloved land! We longed, sighed, and wept to get to land, and the Lord heard us. All at

once among the sailors went up the murmuring that land was sighted from the upper crow's nest. Our Johannes climbed up and sat a good piece up, then he came down, and thought he saw land. By evening it became clearer, they were seeing lighthouses already. I couldn't go up, on account of weakness, to see them. Then in the morning everyone was shouting, "Land is sighted!" My dear husband came down and said, "The pilot is here already." I don't know any more how I felt. Quickly I rose out of my bed and in a few minutes I was up on the deck. It was raining, but we could see land on both sides, that is, woods. On account of the rain I went down again.

Again perhaps a quarter of an hour later my Johannes called to me, "Now come up and see!" I put my coat on and went up, but what a sight! In all my life I have never yet seen anything more lovely—on a little rising ground—you can call it mountains, stood magnificent houses, surrounded with the prettiest trees. The fields were so nice and green that everyone thought he had never seen anything so pretty. I was quite enraptured, I didn't know any more whether I was still on earth or not. Everyone was happy and full of thanks. For the first time I heard our captain singing, while he turned out the sleeves on his coat, so that the water ran to the earth. So on the 4th of September at ten o'clock in the morning anchor was dropped. A few minutes and the newspaper reporters and doctors were there, the former to gather the news, the latter to examine whether there were sick on board. Then right away we heard, to our regret, that there was cholera in New York, that gave a little check to our joy. I can honestly say, that I stayed quite calm. I was thinking: God, who has led us so graciously over the water, can get us through the cholera too, without harming us, and so it was. There are actually said to be many people who died from it [. . .] an American arrived, who offered to drive us.[2] My dear husband made an agreement with him, and we had to give him [. . .] ten (?) dollars, or 25 Francs for a ten hours' journey. Our ship stopped, it was night and we disembarked, went to a hotel and had something to eat, but agreed with our driver that we would sit up and drive by night so as not to come too late to the steamer tomorrow. It was bright moonlight, our driver was a gay blade, began at once to drive at a gallop, I didn't know if I should laugh or cry. You must know that in America there are no roads as with you, mountain after mountain, every moment I thought our wagon would overturn. Our driver sang and shouted the whole night, and when we came to a house, he called out what he would call out: "Come out!" and wanted to have everything merry. Finally he wanted to have us sing too. We sang, he was all ears, if I could sing that way, I would never stop again.

It was now daylight. I was quite astonished at the sight, the houses looked out so cozily from the green fields, while flocks of chickens and turkeys, pigs as fat as mice, cows and horses came out of the houses, all, I thought, bidding us good morning. So we drove till nine o'clock, where we ate breakfast at a richly decked table and pursued our way further. We still had three hours to drive and then came again to the steamer. I was sick. I lay down on a bench and lay there till our ship stopped.

Now we were in Philadelphia. It was night and we would have had a hard time getting a decent night's lodging. We stayed here till noon, when we visited the daughter of Mr. Haas from Dürkheim. She seems to be living very comfortably. I can't remember being in a house that looks

2 The account of this night trip to Philadelphia is somewhat confusing due to its lack geographical orientation. The reference to the steamer, however, is to the Delaware boat which perhaps took the tired passengers from Trenton to Philadelphia.

like this—the floors are laid with the most proper carpets, I should say, things have a princely look at their house. We were received there very lovingly and only regretted that we had to leave so quickly.

Now a wagon was hired to take us right to our dear uncle's. We had a safe drive and on the 15th in the evening at half past eleven arrived at his door.

My heart was beating, everyone was already asleep. Cousin Abraham Deutlinger [Dentlinger] and his dear wife received us first, then our dear Uncle Martin came at once—he welcomed us with the words: "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." He said, "Many times have I prayed for you, that the Lord might accompany you on water and land." See, my dear ones, even in America prayers have been said for our preservation—that is really a humbling thought. Now I insisted that dear Cousin cook nothing but a milk soup and butter-bread. We sat down to the table and ate. Already during the meal I was oppressed with the thought—I feel something of my old complaint. I remained sitting still, it got worse and constantly worse, I went to bed and had to lie there in the greatest pain till today. It was afternoon before it quite left me. So I had to lie all day Sunday in bed. I was visited very diligently, with much sympathy. Our dear Uncle Jacob came right away in the morning and welcomed me and said, "I didn't hear a sound out of you. When I came down this morning and saw the things standing and lying here, I thought, now it's true, they're here." They learned through Beutler that we were coming and were expecting us every day. So right away there were drops of myrrh in our cup of joy, lest we upset our digestion. That was the first time that I had my old evil on the entire journey, and could thank God from the bottom of my heart, that He deals with me so gently and has spared me so long. I had time to rest now and good care and in a few days was on my feet again.

Well, you will want to get a clear picture of our dear Uncles Martin and Jacob, and dear Abraham and his wife and children and their entire household. You[3] especially, dear Mother, will have thought many times now, what will my dear brothers look like? I will see whether I can't paint them before your eyes. Our dear Uncle Martin is, I believe, eighty years old, not quite so tall as my dear husband, but when they sit down beside one another, Uncle Martin is taller. He is much stouter and stronger than my dear husband, his face is vigorous and earnest, but very friendly. He is a serious man, I believe he is still a match for a man half his age. He's very humorous, for example, today he asked Old Bili, "How are you?" Then he went on to say, "Here I am, Old Bili, Jacob, Abraham, I can't help wondering that our good housemother went off and left us sitting here, one of us is as querulous as the other." And so he makes us laugh many a time. He can still relate much about Germany. Indeed he is not like so many old people are—he doesn't bore anyone, frank and friendly to the utmost, straightforward, charitable, and I believe the less one has the more he receives. He taught Abraham's little girls to sing, and so he always sings with them. I said to him today, "I don't know whom to admire most, you or the children!" He smiled and said, "Well, when you get old, you become childlike." In a word, he is a venerable old man, who loves God and man and has done very much for his fellow men. I feel a love for him as if he were my father.

Now comes our dear Uncle Jacob, the picture of you, dear Mother. He is seventy-eight years old, but looks more than ten years older than

3 Katharina uses the polite form "Ihr" when addressing her mother. She also consistently uses the older form "Vetter" when speaking of her uncles.

Uncle Martin. He is much smaller than Uncle Martin and also not so worldly wise. He is always friendly and his white hair hangs down to his shoulders, which gives him a very venerable appearance. He walks a bit bent by age, from his face radiates love and benevolence toward every one, so childlike and so affectionate. I could kiss him when I see him. He is living such a Christian life. In a nice little room, which is prettily furnished, he sits the livelong day at his books, reading and praying. I said to Uncle Martin, "I rejoice so that Uncle Jacob is so good and so devout." "Oh, yes," he said, "many times I've gone into his room, when he was kneeling before his chair and praying, then I quietly went out again." His hearing is very poor—you can imagine what a drag all this is on him. My dear husband said already, if he were ten years younger, we would take him with us. If he sees anything troubling me or the children, he would gladly help, but so would Uncle Martin.

Now as to Cousin Abraham.[4] Middling of stature but very stout and unwell, love itself, I think he could deny nothing to anybody, very God-fearing. He is this way—when he thinks he has been lacking toward his children or servants, said something to them in anger, which he thinks not right, he asks for their pardon. Did you hear that? A dear man! His dear wife, Cousin Anna, is one of those women who has made a man happy, gentle in spirit and humble, not an angry word against her servants or her children. Early in the morning, late in the evening, indefatigable. I have been with her now for three weeks and still have never yet noticed an angry expression on her face. I should like to say, she is Martha and Mary in one person. Beautiful, perfect, in face and form, happy the man who has such a wife! Her daughter Marie, one of the nicest women I have ever seen, gentle and friendly, the copy of her mother, is at present in childbed with a baby daughter. Lives perhaps four to five miles from here in a nice big house, which is furnished very properly. Now come Martin and Benjamin, grown boys, modest and orderly like their parents, and two dear seven-year-old girls, a hired man and two maids. Old Bili came to them a child of four years and is now in his sixties.

So now you have the whole household. No, not quite all: seven horses, thirty-five or thirty-six head of very beautiful cattle, fifteen to eighteen pigs so fat that they could all be butchered. Their cattle go out in the morning, and come home in the evening. The pigs have no stall until they are being fattened. Over everything prevails cleanliness and order. By the way, our dear Uncle Martin is—how shall I say it? It is said, the world turns on its axis, and I say, the whole house turns around our dear Uncle, like the world around its axis.

We are now here three weeks, a real recuperation for me. Bebel and Philibine have had washing every week the whole time, and just think, we did not need to use any of our soap. The many dirty things from the ship were all washed with their soap. Cousin Anna and Cousin Abraham said, "There is the wood, here are the ashes and here is soap. Keep your soap and take as much of ours as you need." I accepted it with thanks. I was just sorry that we can't compensate for all this trouble and work and expense with something. It's no laughing matter, to board thirteen people for three weeks already and with it all the faces keep getting friendlier! Dear Cousin has filled a big crock of applebutter (*Latwerg*) for me and a little one with preserved peaches. She wants to give us some *schnitz* to take along too. She even said yesterday, she would bake us bread

4 Abraham Denlinger was a stepson of Martin Mellinger's, son of Mellinger's second wife. He inherited the Baer-Mellinger property.

for the journey. And something else! Dear Uncle Martin made me a present of one hundred dollars, nothing but undeserved kindnesses, which we receive as from the hand of God, none the less honoring and loving the givers.

This week Uncle Martin said, "We must visit old Graf." We went, Uncle, Johannes, Lotta and I. It is perhaps a short quarter of an hour away. We met a snowy-haired patriarch of eighty-four years, quite bent with age and trembling, a son and two daughters, all single. We were received with much love. The daughter was especially tender to little Lotta, and right away gave her a five frankenthaler piece in a nice silk purse. The old man went out into his room and with trembling hand offered to my dear husband a few notes, which together make twenty dollars. Johannes was startled. "Take it," he said, "I'm making you only a small present with this." My dear husband had to accept it. Then we ate dinner. You should have seen the dear old patriarch praying, he prayed quietly and quite short, but I thought he would fetch down with his very hands the blessing of Heaven. Then the men sat down in the sun before the door, and the two daughters and I sat down at the hearth in the kitchen, where they got exquisite enjoyment out of a little pipe of tobacco. Here in this country many women smoke. We chatted and told each other those mutual things that just can't be put on paper. In a few minutes we were old friends. It was as if I were in the house of Lazarus. I thought to myself, if our Saviour were upon earth, He would surely make His dwelling here. My dear husband had the same thought too.

On Friday there was a preachers' meeting here, to which came men, some of whom had driven but most of them came on horseback. You should really have seen the venerable old men sitting at the table. Here we met a dear Risser cousin too. His grandfather and my dear husband's grandfather were brothers. It gives one quite a feeling, to meet blood relatives in a foreign land. His father is still living. He said how glad he would be to see us. Wednesday, if the Lord is willing and we live, we want to begin our journey to Ohio. We will stop the first night with our dear Cousin Risser.

So you know by now that we are not staying in Pennsylvania. Money is very dear here, we would be doing an unwise thing if we remained here. We had in mind, the children and I, to live here in the neighborhood of Uncle, then my dear husband would make a journey into the interior of the land and buy something, and then come for us. But our dear Uncle advised us very much against it. He said, in autumn the roads are very good and in the spring they are almost impassable. If we went this fall, we could begin right away next spring. Then he didn't like either for Johannes to be so long away from us, which was more satisfactory to me too and I liked it better. So we made up our minds, as you have seen elsewhere, to go to Ohio. Uncle thinks we should only rent something for the present, then we would have time to look around and examine, where and how is the best, afterwards we could buy. We are quite of his opinion too.

Where we will end up, how it will go with us, I ask myself many times. Then every time I should be ashamed of my weak faith, when I just consider how our dear heavenly Father has stood by us so faithfully and lovingly and led us so graciously, kept us so well, gave us relations and let us meet our dear relatives so well, and has let us experience His goodness and love a thousandfold. If I ponder it, all doubts for the future disappear. Then I fling myself, with everything—I say with *everything*—that we are and have, into the father arms of God, there we are safe.

Peter Beutler also rented land for himself in Ohio. His wife had two daughters born on the ship. She brought both of the children here to our dear Uncle's, but soon after they left they heard that one of them had died. Bale's wife was buried at sea, now the poor man, with eight motherless children, must face the wide world alone, a hard fate! Our good brethren of the faith quickly got two hundred dollars together and gave it to him for the journey. Do you too have among you such noble men? Oh, yes, I think so, but they are rare. I would have much more to write to you, but my sheet is already full, so I must abbreviate. Fare you well, dear Mother, Brothers and Sisters and friends. Write us real soon and much. I greet and kiss you in the spirit. A hearty greeting from Uncles Martin and Jacob as also from my dear husband and children. Again many affectionate greetings to all relatives and acquaintances.

Katharina Risser

Again fare you well and forget not your daughter and sister, who loves you so much.

P.S. I still have not told you how I like it here. It is not so nice as in Europe, but I just never would want to go over again.

IV

JOHANNES RISSER TO JACOB WEBER

Ohio, Richland County,
Mifflin Township Post Office
January 6, 1833

Dearly beloved Brother-in-Law!

So the hour has come, when I can speak once more with you, you dear folks, and enjoy a chat with you, if regrettably only by letter. So before I took my pen in hand, I meditated over whom I should address and write my first letter to from Ohio and from my new living place, and actually it was no easy choice for me. Then I thought, if I knew who among my brothers and sisters or friends will first come to us, then he would be my neighbor and so to him I would write my first letter, to enjoy a chat with him first, and so even now to join myself to him. But since I cannot know that, I directed my thinking to another argument. I thought then of your good letter of August 14th, which to our great joy and astonishment we received fourteen days ago. So since, dear brother-in-law, I have received here my first letter from you, I resolved to write my first one to you. But since I owe all my brothers and sisters and friends word and should like to give it to them, but can't write to them all, I must actually saddle the burden on you, asking you as soon as you read the letter, to pass it on to my dear brothers and sisters and relatives. But who will concern himself with forwarding it soon to my dear friend Eymann of Dirmstein too? I think Abraham Latscha. He can just put an envelope around it and put it in the mail. I know that Eymann will gladly pay the postage.

So I take my pen in hand for the first time. I place before my eyes all my friends over there—Kindenheim, Büdesheim, Quirnheim, Grünstadt, Friedelsheim, Dürkheim, Erpolzheim, Dirmstein and so forth, everything passes before my soul, and I must confess, I am overcome with great joy. Gladly would I embrace and kiss every one. If I had known that writing to you would be such a sweet business, perhaps I would have written you earlier. Yet it was impossible. But I would a hundred times rather speak with you, to be able to tell you all the things that just can't be put into writing.

So first of all our affectionate greeting to all brothers and sisters and relations, to all who read this and remember us in love, with the wish, that grace and peace from God may richly be with you all. And if this peace is with us and we seek it with our whole heart, then nothing is more certain than that we in His time will all meet one another before the throne of God in the highest blessedness and will there dwell and remain together, without ever separating and parting. God give us all His blessing thereunto. Amen!

I will first note that I wrote two letters in New York, which I addressed to Jacob Leisy, the other to P. Eymann in Dirmstein, and sent off with, I think, two good but different opportunities. At Uncle Möllinger's I wrote the third letter in common with my dear wife, and there put it in the mail, which we also addressed to you, dear sister. Did you get these letters, which I scarcely question? In any case they will not all have gone lost, so you already know our safe journey and with it the principal thing. But even if it is repetition, I want to return once more to our sea voyage.

Such a voyage, with a wife who is no stronger than mine, and with a small child like our little Marie, has, I admit, many inconveniences, but then we would be doing wrong to make even the smallest complaint. You know that my wife did not want to wean little Marie from the breast, so as to be able to keep her nourished and contented on the ship. But that was to no purpose. Through seasickness she soon had so little milk and was getting so weary and miserable that she had to wean her already in the first eight days. There were still other women on the ship who were in this condition too. They lost some milk too, but were younger and stronger and kept their children on the breast till we landed. But it's always an inconvenient matter, to be seasick and to have such a child. It is better if such children are already accustomed to other food and are no longer on the breast, although they are still young and delicate. Such children never get seasick. Now how did it go with our very delicate little Marie, who still could stand no air when we left home and would have nothing to do with food? Didn't she make the greatest burden through discontent and crying? Must she not suffer hunger at all? And didn't she get sick? Answer: No! she was and remained completely well up to the present day. Not once was she "grown" (*angewachsen*), and still less sick. We had the good fortune of having a very intelligent, honest captain, whom I should call a master of navigation, and he was a German too. He had a goat on the ship, which constantly gave quite regular milk and he was so good to us that right away in the beginning he offered to let us have some milk every morning and every evening. Scarcely had our cabin passengers heard that than they said, as with one voice, "Then we will drink our coffee without milk." So we had some milk two times a day. Then through the day she (the baby) ate with us, whatever we had. And concerning the weaning process, here I must say that none of our children let themselves be weaned so easily and with so little trouble and so contentedly. It seemed quite like this, as if she knew that her mother had no milk and as if she had sympathy for her. She slept with her in the bed and was contented.

Right at that time we had one very stormy day. It was Sunday, which was very sad for me. Everybody was especially seasick then, and because of the rolling of the ship almost no fire could be kept going and nothing could be cooked. But I never got seasick. The wife, so very miserable in bed, now for some days had eaten almost nothing; the girl and the children were in bed, vomiting almost one after another. The ship rolled

hither and yon, so that you could neither stand nor walk with a child, so I sat long in the ship and had the child, very hungry and crying, on my lap, who was just to have been weaned from its mother and so I could give it nothing to eat. So I got very frightened toward night and about the future, particularly about this child. And see here, the child soon got to like sucking on black, hard zwieback—something I really wasn't expecting! It softened and ate such a little piece of zwieback and—went contentedly to sleep. In the evening again there was something to eat for the child, actually with great trouble for Philippina, and the big battle was now almost fought and on the following day it was going pretty well again. Little Lisbeth and Lotta did not get seasick. Nor did the children ever become frightened at the storm, although of nights we could have no light, a thing that always agreed with our Lotta. If we had a stormy day, the children were ordered to remain in bed and they got to like it. The boys all got seasick, but not for long. Johannes got weaker from it than the others. Children in general have little to fear from seasickness, the smaller they are, the less, very little ones suffer nothing at all. Our Lotta stood it so well that we thought and spoke of her always with the greatest astonishment. I would not know a single time that she got impatient or afraid, that she cried and made us a burden. She was always content with the meals, even when they were so miserable. This too in rain, wind, and cold. In short, her behavior was such that it could be set up as a pattern. Even the captain watched her often with astonishment. Often when I was walking on deck, she came up all at once behind me, took me by the hand, to become my companion, with which she very charmingly and cheerfully surprised me. Soon thereafter the captain declared that my wife should get some soup from his kitchen, which was nearly the only good nourishment that my wife could still enjoy. Of the men there were perhaps more than twenty on the ship who did not get seasick at all, but the women were all seasick except perhaps Wiener's wife, the latter alone remained free of it. The everlasting vomiting, with which the appetite is also almost entirely lost, makes life very miserable. Yet pregnant women may suffer more with that. By the way, there's nothing at all dangerous in it, and with some it passes away quickly, with others it holds on longer, with many it disappears gradually but sets in again if the wind rises, and the ship rocks to and fro. Our captain said that now for the fifth time he sails passengers, but he has not yet gotten a single sick one. Once he had a weakly woman on the ship, who had been affected with cramps and had suffered much with them, but so much as I recall, she didn't die. Then we had also a very aged, gaunt and delicate widow from Bremen in the cabin—she often complained of headache, but came right well through it, indeed she had gotten headaches at home too.

In general sea air is said to be the healthiest air of all, which seemed to me to be proved true, for I found myself always well, never suffered from erysipelas, although I always exposed myself to the wind and got cold, something I couldn't stand at home at all. And that apart from this traveling is healthy, and nature strengthens, is something generally known. For example, my wife at home had to suffer almost always from a bad stomach, although at the same time she dieted very carefully. Now she eats everything that is set before her, and had until now nothing to suffer of it, and is getting stout. So I conclude that traveling, with its changes of air and food and water, was a good thing for her, and strengthened her nature. Also her old complaint has less power over her. Only twice did she have it since we left home, and that was at Uncle Möllinger's,

and yet she works now much more than at home. That there are often sick and dying people on the ship is certain, but for an entirely different reason: 1.) When a ship is overcrowded with people, something that almost always happened earlier, then 2.) when the ship is not properly cleaned, and so a sickly air results. Or do you perhaps believe that human beings are so intelligent and active that they let no impurities grow up on board ship and clean properly by themselves? I say, no! that is not to be expected of a steerage passenger. We surely had coarse and piggish people on our ship! And yet the captain said, they are the best that he has yet taken over—in general he was well satisfied with them. But our captain insisted very much on the cleaning. Every morning the sailors had to wash the deck clean, and every week he sent the second mate and sailors twice into our deck to clean it. One time all boxes and chests had to be removed and the whole floor was scrubbed as clean as possible, and then fumigated with vinegar vapor, while everyone was sent on deck. The other time the chests could remain and it was only scrubbed.

In this too we had good fortune, that we had a very good ship, one that sailed very well. Most of the ships draw water, especially when there are waves, and the ship is rocked. Also there is many a ship that sails badly and so always goes slowly. In this there is a great difference. Our ship collected no water at all, however, either down from above or from beneath, and sailed very well. There were seven to ten ships in Bremen that sailed away with us, and we landed first. We often had strong north wind, when we sailed straight west and that in an hour made three and a half or even four hours. Our captain was however so attentive to the wind, by night as by day, that I should say, he never let a handful get lost. We had a lot of contrary wind, though, too. If we had sailed toward Bremen, it would have taken half the time. Storm, or what the seamen call storm, we had none at all. Only once, at night, were all the sails furled, but only a very short time, perhaps a quarter of an hour. Thunder we had none at all. Krehbiel from the Pfremerhof represented his sea voyage as pretty awful, but I think I have every reason to believe that he did not stick faithfully to the truth. I remember that he described a very violent storm, whose violence he gave us to understand, was such that the waves beat on the deck so that their steps at times got wet. Now with us that was often the case, and often, when several got quite wet, gave us occasion for great laughter, although our ship was higher than others and had a high railing. Once our little Lisbeth went up the steps where all at once a wave covered her. But she was so little frightened, that not once did she cry and only cried out in great astonishment, "What is that?" I looked at her and had to laugh about it. But if Krehbiel had said, the deck had to be made waterproof and the ship went as it were *into the waves,* so that the water was higher than the ship and had gone over the ship, then he could have used the waves as proof of a powerful storm. But I think, too, that many of our people think for sure that we had many horrible storms. Are we to think that of Krehbiel too? Is he not said to have made inquiries of the ship's crew, whether their storms can rightfully be described as violent and dangerous? And how it seems on the sea in ships when such storms are at hand? I really believe, therefore, that he knew too, in which class their storms belonged. So it pleased him to say that he had been on the sea in great storms. He misrepresented things too when he wrote of the sprinkling of fire sparks in the waves. These one sees only at night, when the ship is sailing quite fast and the force of the water is cut through with a still greater force, and the darker the more

fiery, no matter whether there are waves there or not. We often watched this awesome beauty for hours at a time.

Also that's a very wrong portrayal of seagoing vessels—that they climb upwards that way on sky-high waves like you drive up a very steep mountain, then over and down again, so that one thinks it will shoot down all of a sudden into the deepest abyss! If I am not mistaken, Krehbiel also wrote of this misrepresentation, and confirmed it with his big mouth. I paid strict attention to it, even asked our captain precisely about it, who spoke conscientiously of all similar things. But I have never experienced anything of it, and our captain denied it bluntly. The ship does not "climb" at all, it only balances up and down, about like when boys have laid a pole on a log and sit on it and go up and down. So with the ship, when it goes over a wave. I often watched the ship and was of the opinion that its climbing and falling could come to about twelve feet at the bow and Krehbiel of Weierhof was also of my opinion. Now when you were in the middle of the ship you scarcely noticed it. So too we were several times in a position where the ship rocked for a time from one side to the other, but here we found that the rocking up and down was much more significant, and yet you couldn't think that an accident could threaten the ship. So how could there be talk in the second case of an "abyss"?

Another thing: people are generally of the opinion that whales can easily become dangerous to ships. Even Duden[5] expressed this fear. Our captain went whaling for several years. So I spoke with him about it, and he does not in the least believe that a whale can do damage to a seagoing vessel. To a little vessel, yes. I told him of examples, which I have read in trustworthy writings, but he stuck by his statement that he believed nothing of it. He asked me to consider first of all that the ship had a much harder "body" than such a fish, secondly, the weight of the ship and the weight of the fish, and then every such ship is more than a hundred times heavier. Then he asked how there could be a possibility that the fish could ruin a ship. He said, "If I would see that a whale were lying in front of the ship I would not be in the least afraid of it, and would even not think of giving the ship another direction." So says our captain. But I can cite no direct evidence, for we saw nothing of whales.

You hear, I admit, much about unlucky, long-lasting sea voyages, but when you know how sinfully bad ships often are, yes, by far the most ships are, how many captains there are who are addicted to drink and with it are peculiar, capricious fellows, and do not use the required caution, do not even understand sufficiently and so petulantly expose themselves to danger —you learn to think quite differently of sea voyages, that is, on the Atlantic Ocean. (Of other sea areas, where the sea is almost always stormy and often hurricanes rage, it's another question, even not of sea voyages made in the winter. These too may often be stormy and full of peril, even on the best of ships. Therefore (*unless absolutely necessary*) no traveler should get on a ship in the winter, to go to America! This I should like to advise all my relations.) I could relate many instances of bad ships, if it could be done orally. But one I will give in writing. About fourteen days before us such a ship left Bremen for America, and this was its condition. It was an American ship, which the captain was to sell in Bremen at any price. Now there was not more than four thousand dollars offered him for it. That was still too little for him, so he resolved to load it with cargo and would rather keep it for himself at that price. So he must look for an insurance company, to insure the cargo. Good, the ship was

5 Author of a famous American guide for German emigrants.

inspected, and inspected by experts (our captain was an inspector for such a company), but all of those companies, of which there are many in the different seaports, found the ship so bad, that they would have nothing to do with it. (According as a ship is found good or bad, it is accepted at a higher or lower per cent. Only the bad ones are totally rejected. So it went with this one.) Now meanwhile many emigrants for America had collected, and see here, the captain makes a short reflection, buys old ropes and cables and so forth, to repair his ship somewhat, and advertises that on such and such a date he will sail with passengers for America; those sailing should report to such and such a ship's broker. So he loaded his ship with people, like anyone else who has the best ship, and he now had a cargo loaded that needed no insurance. Another thing—you know that we had to choose between two ships. Now the one was an American ship, too, that had people loaded too, which had its verdict, that this journey must be its last. You can now conclude from this what is to be accepted of the general saying—which Krehbiel unfortunately also has so rashly confirmed—that one should go only on an American ship, they are all good or even the best. No, no ship remains always new and good, every ship gets old and every ship gets bad or is bad. But that in America the best, the most expensive and most beautiful ships are built, that is quite correct. Our captain confirmed that very strongly, and once went with the cabin passengers onto such a ship in New York, to show them such beauty and costliness. But now these are none other than the so-called packet-boats, which till now go only to Havre de Grace and Liverpool, and these have immediate advantage in that pains are taken to have on them the best, most experienced captains. And by virtue of age and deterioration they have the firm regulation, that they dare go under the name of post ships no longer than eight years and only eight years. Even if they are then still good, they are rejected—so our captain assured me and closer proof and certainty I cannot give. Meanwhile I believe it. But it is said to be just as true, that in America also the worst ships are built, that is, that here most of the laborers are said to work on fraud.

I should like therefore to express myself generally on sea voyages. If you are on the sea in the summer and on a good ship and have a careful, industrious, expert captain, who is always seeking to do his duty, then the sea voyage is no more dangerous than any other journey. Only extraordinary conditions and occurrences place the ship in danger, e.g., a storm might arise suddenly and become so violent, that it would be impossible to climb up to take off the sails, or lightning might strike the ship or a raging hurricane arise, that you sail straight into, or you sail onto a sandbank, which, however, are found only near land, etc. But all these are cases which take place only quite out of the ordinary, and things out of the ordinary can put one, every moment, wherever one may be, in danger of his life. I would not know a single time when my wife would have been afraid, but riding in a carriage was often immediately in the greatest anxiety. We were also fortunate in having good sailors.

So we lived and stood with the captain, with our cabin passengers and with the sailors, on very friendly footing and made our voyage in thirty-seven days, as ship's people reckon it. Then we experienced the pleasure which arises when you see land for sure and see it nearby. But you must not think that you see the land all at once, and this joy is so sudden and so electric. No, usually you know four or five days ahead with pretty good certainty, how near you are to land, and if the ship is

not going very fast, then at least two days pass, from the time you think you see the first land, until you can say with certainty, it is actually land. It was afternoon, when it was presumed from up on the mast that they saw land, and the next afternoon you still weren't quite sure about it, not till toward evening did we get more and more certain, but then toward ten o'clock we saw lighthouses, which brought our first full certainty.

I have forgotten to mention above, how it went with the wagon hiring with Peter Weber. He expressed himself in this way—that I should pay him no cartage. But I thought I owed it to him, to give him a reasonable sum for cartage, and had to decide myself and act according to my own judgment. So first I paid all his expenses, and board, feed for the horses, bridge tolls, etc. For the return journey I gave the driver a tip of five dollars and paid twenty dollars separately besides. I intended to give only fifteen dollars, but had no smaller money, and could not get any changed. From Philadelphia to Pittsburgh should be one hundred hours and from there to here sixty hours. With you it is generally reckoned three miles an hour. According to my observations five miles make two common hours. It takes good walking if you want to go three miles in one hour.

I have already written from New York, how ungrateful our group was in return for the pains Rothen took, and how badly he was treated by some. Since I do not know, whether that letter has arrived, and since I wanted so much to warn you not to come to a similar fate, that is, to warn you never to let yourselves into a ship's agreement with coarse, unsympathetic, suspicious and impudent people, so I want once more to return to this chapter. If you saw how it went with Rothen and me, then you could also conclude how it could have gone with us, or would have gone if we had gotten a bad ship, a coarse, low-down captain, thieving sailors, and a difficult sea voyage. You as well as I are convinced that it is impossible for Rothen to slip even a little profit his own way. There is no question at all of cheating. And yet everyone has him a trickster, some few excepted. Even Kämmerer and Wiegner have declared distrust toward him, and I have reason to believe that they both contributed toward rousing the silly and coarse people to abusing and ill-treating him, whether through misunderstanding and lack of manliness or with intention, or out of maliciousness I do not want to decide. Only four families, the relatives of Füssler, have stayed on Rothen's side, have seen into the evil, and stood by Rothen and sympathized with him. Lüberich held himself quite neutral, has in my knowledge never taken sides against Rothen. Also against Wiegner I could not complain, if he only had been able to give more support to Rothen, yet he never acted against him. He and his wife are to be preferred to all others and I am convinced of their honesty and that they never would have come near thinking of distrust and discontent if they had been in another group. It would have been a joy to us if we could have become their neighbors.

You know our ship's agreement, and that we had to pay more than the common run because of the many children and because the ship's opportunities were so rare. So we had to determine the rate ourselves, how much an adult and how much a child should pay according to difference of age, added to which was the fact that we paid in different kinds of money, which all had their different values, e.g., the Kronthaler was worth only 2 gulden 40 kreuzer, the Prussian 1 gulden 44 kreuzer, more or less, the 5 Frankenthaler 2 gulden 20 kreuzer, the gold of full value, 6-kreuzer pieces were not worth their value either. Now all that made our account-

ing so difficult, that we did not even have time to make it out in Bremen, and when Rothen had concluded the agreement, the money owing was paid not to the Company but simply to Rothen. So we went on the ship, while Rothen had advanced six to eight hundred gulden, a sum on which everyone had yet to pay, some more, some less, and that was our misfortune. But I must remark at once that the attempt was made even in Bremen, first of all to make a reckoning, then to determine the rate, to get what was owing from each one, and since that wouldn't do, Rothen secondly made an incidental demand, to get his money and change it. When he wanted to make a formal reckoning on the ship, already such utterances and reproaches had been made, that Rothen could really have seen and should have seen, how risky it is for him to go on the ship without having his money. Right away I did not think it good on his part, yet he had for his excuse that he had to be about his wedding. On the ship it was now seriously assumed that every adult should pay not less than 82 gulden, the kreuzer I don't know any more--by virtue of the loss of money which had occurred and the traveling costs. Yet since the children came out very much over the ordinary, the question was posed, how much an adult is to pay, whether the rate of 82 gulden etc. should stand or whether something more and how much. Every adult was requested to answer this question and settle the matter, to speak out according to his good judgment and conscience. I took the votings down on paper, added them together, then divided them by the number of persons who had voted, into that sum, which resulted, that an adult should pay 84 gulden 25 kreuzer. Everything else must now be put on the children. But that too I let the heads of families put to a vote, whether the money should be paid out according to the customary ship's rate or according to another and according to which one, and all voted unanimously for the customary one. All moneys were reckoned exactly to the value which they had at home. It so happened that a child under six years had to pay 44 gulden and 15 kreuzer, and from six to twelve years, 66 gulden and [—] kreuzer. Otherwise children are free up to one year, from one to six years they cost 26 gulden 40 kreuzer, and from six to twelve years 40 gulden and [—] kreuzer. Then we had besides that, to reckon on paying hospital charges at 6 gulden 40 kreuzer a head.

I have taken great pains to trace the course of the matter for you, so that you can see and judge about it, how little cause there was to become distrustful and discontented. So an adult had actually to pay 4 gulden 25 kreuzer more than the usual rate, but consider how quickly 4 gulden is eaten up in a seaport town, when one must wait on ship opportunities, 2) that we had 130 gulden expenses, 3) the loss of money, 4) that Rothen himself would have profited, if there had been less demanded of the adults, 5) that I had neither loss nor profit thereby, since I had exactly half adults and half children, 6) that Rothen had to refer in his demands to the contract and the receipts, 7) that an accounting was proposed (actually no one understands an accounting) and finally 8) that the decisions were made only after general voting, in which only the adults voted, so you know everything.

Now how did the matter run out? Schmitt of Altdorf, who always played the pious one—unfortunately his conduct on the ship was in general such that he lost the respect of all well-meaning people, even the captain and the sailors—said at first, that he acknowledged the account, but can not pay now, since he had his money all the way down below in his chest, where it is very difficult to get at, but that in any case he would be

good for it, at which he put his hand on his heart and as usual referred to his religiosity. My heart bleeds while I write this. But in New York he declared he would pay no more and hastened away and went off like a rascal. He did not settle, did not even say how he would settle and remained in debt to Rothen about 70 gulden. How exactly I don't know any more. One by the name of Müller from Baden made the same declaration too, but he had to stay longer and Rothen got a lawyer and filed a complaint, on which he forthwith declared he would pay, and Rothen got his money from him. But here Rothen made the mistake of not getting his expenses in advance, which perhaps amounted to 15 gulden, and so here he lost that. Fuchs and Hildebrand and Messmann paid in the end, but under much chicanery and with unbearable rudeness. Herzberger, whom we—Rothen and I—smuggled onto the ship with the co-operation of the captain, had not paid him about 3 gulden in hospital money, with much chicanery he paid him only one dollar. Actually if Rothen had gone at once to the lawyer, and had attacked the whole matter in earnest—which I wanted him to do—he could have lost nothing, since he had contract and receipts in hand. He had only to say before the court, "I have paid so much for the company, received so much from it, and there is still owing to me so much and therefore I file a complaint, without burdening myself with it, how much a child or an adult, a young or an old N[———], must pay."

Actually the whole thing, with all its difficulties, was so simple and so sure for Rothen, that you don't know what you should say to it. But it will be still more strange, when one knows and considers that all the difficulty and loss leads here from one single bad person, and this was the above-mentioned Herzberger, whom we smuggled onto the ship. If my observations are correct, as I believe, this fellow is to blame for everything. Already in Bremen he showed himself for a lapper and troublemaker, and it went on that way, as long as we were with him. Actually along with it he possesses the greatest slyness and skill. When he stirred up and took in the people against Rothen, he got them stirred up against the captain and the second mate, and yet in the captain's eyes he always appeared so obliging and busy that he nevertheless got his favor. He was in favor too, although he charmed the passengers against the captain so that I here heard the hard expression, "We have fallen into a real rascal's hands," which found general approval.

Messmann, his wife, and Weiss arrived about three weeks ahead of us at their brother's in Pittsburgh.

I would advise everyone to resolve to make no haste in buying land, but first to rent a little house, to look here and there for cheap land and declare oneself in the market for land. You then get better acquaintance with the region so that you can judge better about it. In the meantime then such people can be found who either, from special reasons, are very glad to sell, or must sell of necessity, in which case one can buy much cheaper than the general price. In this manner I have bought about one hundred dollars under the general price. To do so I think still better than to rent something first because one can then at any time go up and down, and because then one can quite easily make a journey of ten to fifteen hours—which can't be done when you have provided chests and boxes, cattle, vessels and implements. It is not uncommon at all here to buy a quarter of land for one thousand dollars, while the neighboring tract, of the same quality, costs eighteen hundred dollars. Now people who in the above way have bought eighty acres or even one hundred and

sixty acres from the state and need their money again sooner than they can find buyers, rent to people, who have no money, for five to eight years, under the one condition, that they build up a log house on it, and must clear a certain amount of acres, twenty to thirty acres, according as a shorter or longer time is stipulated. Then the land finds a buyer sooner with interest, or they sell cheaper.

But there is still another reason which contributes very much to the fact that everywhere so much land is for sale. There are, to wit, many people, though most of them English, who buy forty or eighty or one hundred and sixty acres of land from the state, and clear twenty to fifty acres of it, then sell it at a profit of 2800 dollars and go further into the country, and there buy likewise from the state and begin anew to clear. So you have people who are already at their third or fourth place. It was this way with the man who sold me my land. These are very rough people, like to shoot deer, etc. and never quite accustom themselves to planting fodder, to build a stable and feed cattle here. So their cattle must roam in the woods the whole year and look for their fodder themselves, and so they think they find an advantage if they live where it is still very little cleared. Of manure they want to know so little that even when they have a bad little stable, they let it lie quite untouched, and when it finally causes them too much mess and piles up on them, they'd rather break down the stable and move it to another place than to haul the manure onto their fields. Such poor farmers are they. And yet the manure is no less valuable than with you. On the poor land it works extraordinarily but the rich land needs it none the less, because it makes it soft and workable and likewise fertile.

Now concerning prospects and actual living conditions. It can be said in general that there are many, many fewer people here who have too little land than is the case with you, and even the poorer people are still by far not so poor as over there. In the whole country, whoever wants to work and knows the ropes, whether he have property or no, and even if he is burdened with children, can support himself well and richly, therefore no one looks toward the future with forebodings on account of his children. Even if it happens that the parents die, or even only the father or the mother, and the children cannot be supported well, or have no provision at all, the good practice exists here, that people [here a quarter sheet is missing from the text].

Yesterday I bought land! Eighty-six acres, four and a half cleared, twenty besides with wheat and corn, of the nicest land that one can see, with two American houses (cabins) and a barn—for six hundred dollars. It is very cheap. We are really glad about it and have many reasons to believe that the hand of God has led us. Perhaps more about this later on.

Wernz, Müller, Kramer, Herzberger, Lüberich and Schneider were still in New York when we left the city. They could take work here, but were still not all of a mind with one another, what they want to do, stay here or go further. Berg and his wife, Bergthol etc., Kämmerer and Wiegner went to New York State, where the three latter bought land. A few days ago I received a note from Wiegner, through our Uncle Möllinger, in which the latter wrote me that he (Wiegner) and Bergthol have bought near each other, twelve miles from Buffalo, Wie[g]ner seventy acres, Bergthol eighty-five acres, each one for 1150 dollars. Kämmerer got one hundred and twenty acres, at seventeen dollars per acre, but where everything that was in the barn must remain, and also many cattle besides. But Wiegner did not write how much land is cleared. I suspect less than

with mine. He only said that it is already much cleared. He thinks the soil very good and says they are all well and quite content. Krebiel wrote too and announced that he is thinking of staying there. Fuchs I met near Pittsburgh, where he was working. He seemed to be quite encouraged, but when the sight of him reminded me that he too had joined in flailing Rothen, I at once lost the desire to speak much with him, and hastened on.

Here I'll follow with a brief description of American life and its conditions, which you perhaps have already been long looking forward to impatiently. Of a complaint against the state, or against the laws, or against the ruling officials, I have yet heard nothing. If one speaks with the people about it, you can see every time how the head is held higher, and they speak in another tone and with another mien, as if they themselves were a ruling member. Of gendarmes, constables, beadles, vergers, night watchmen, field rangers, no one knows anything at all in the entire land. If it is night everything is deathly still. I have yet to see a beggar. When we butchered our first pigs, I said we should have given the poor people here much *Metzelsuppe,* and how glad and thankful they would have been. To see that here they pour all this broth away, don't even try to get soup out of it—that led me to the thought. Then I was told that the poor people wouldn't accept such a soup at all. They'd just call you names for doing it! Actually you very rarely see a lock on a house, even the necessary bolt is missing on most doors, and yet you don't think of robbery, which has however happened already. So we too have neither lock nor bolt on our little house, and yet we go to sleep quite unworried, which at home was not the case, although we had doubly and triply locked ourselves in. Yet in places where there are more people, like Lancaster and the cities, it is otherwise. The second reason why so little is stolen, is that *every farmer* lives separately, on his own land, which frankly he likes best anyway. Even Pennsylvania is still very thinly populated compared with Europe, and in my opinion it is not even to be expected that it will be noticeably more populated in a hundred years. Only very seldom . . . [continuation missing].

When we told Weber's about Schnabel's, and made known their condition, they said, "If they only were here, we would gladly help them in whatever way we could, and if they want to work and accommodate themselves, they will have no lack of the necessary things." But I will observe along with it, that it is still a bad thing when one has little or nothing and little children along with it. But as soon as they can count on their children for help, and the children are faithful and hardworking, it would indeed be better for them here. There are many places to rent. Hodel has heard of his brother's coming and is already preparing him a little house, so that he can move in. [Continuation missing.]

A HUTTERITE BOOK OF MEDIEVAL ORIGIN

ROBERT FRIEDMANN*

The question of a possible continuity among Christian nonconformists or sectarians through the ages is an old one, but it has never been possible to present positive proof of effective contacts between these groups. In the 1880's two German scholars independently of each other nevertheless claimed such contacts, simply because of close spiritual kinship and similarities among such groups. The one was Ludwig Keller,[1] who used the generic term "old evangelical brotherhoods" to include all "left-wing" sectarians from primitive Christianity to sixteenth-century Anabaptism, contending in a number of stimulating books and lectures that somehow an underground contact actually existed between all of these "old evangelicals." In particular he promoted the far older hypothesis that the early Anabaptists of the sixteenth century have some roots in the great medieval brotherhood of Waldensians which survived from the thirteenth century on into modern times in spite of heavy persecution.[2] Keller pointed in particular to the fact that at certain places in Germany where formerly strong Waldensian congregations had existed (though they disappeared in the early days of the Reformation) Anabaptist groups now sprang up, strong and well organized somewhat in the fashion of the former group. The discussion rested at this point without proof of concrete contacts.

The other scholar was Albrecht Ritschl, the author of the famous *Geschichte des Pietismus* (1880 ff.). In the first volume, called *Prolegomena,* he proposed a similar hypothesis concerning the origin of Anabaptism. He had observed a striking similarity between the Franciscan monastic order of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries on the one hand, and the sixteenth-century Anabaptists on the other. Of these Franciscans several subdivisions are known: the *Conventual* Franciscans (who soon after the death of the founder made their peace with the papacy and accepted some sort of property, in open disobedience to Saint Francis' last will), the *Spiritual* Franciscans (who tried to stay loyal to the last will of the Saint and continued as the "poor" of the country, by this always coming in tension with a

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1 Compare Neff's article on Keller in *Menn. Lexikon,* II, 480.

2 The claim of Waldensian origin of the Anabaptists goes at least as far back as the early 17th century. Van Braght advocates this theory in his *Martyrs' Mirror.*

worldly-minded papacy), and finally the *Fraticelli* (or Brethren, who had become so radical in their evangelical way of life that they no longer accepted the authority of the popes; thus they became true sectarians (non-Catholic) and suffered heavy persecution which during the fifteenth century brought the entire movement to its eventual collapse). There was finally also the Third Order of *Tertiaries,* composed of lay members who took secret vows but continued to live "in the world," yet as far as possible in obedience to the master. This last group, once very strong and approved by the popes, appeared to Ritschl as the very forerunner of Anabaptism (because of its "evangelical life *in* the world") both in life and teachings.[3] Ritschl's hypothesis never enjoyed any serious acceptance, while Keller's thesis has been quite appealing to the historians of sect movements and has never been fully refuted.

What would both Keller and Ritschl have given if they had known the document to be described in this short paper? It might have meant to them the very demonstration of such underground links, and they would have rejoiced that now the continuity hypothesis seems actually to be proved by the existence of a "left-wing" Franciscan book among the Hutterites. At closer inspection, however, it becomes clear that this interesting book can hardly be used for any such theory even though it actually points to certain contacts hitherto unknown. After all, one swallow does not make a summer, and one book does not prove continuity and dependency. That books have a certain persistency (particularly if fitting to a present frame of reference) is true, but borrowing a book does not in itself mean concrete dependency. Nevertheless, it is a rare case and deserves our attention.

When I visited the Hutterite Brethren in western Canada in 1954, in one of their Bruderhofs I was shown a nineteenth-century manuscript copy of an old book, called *Auslegung der Offenbarung Johannis* (Exposition of the Book of Revelation) in 22 chapters. It is a beautifully written volume of 162 leaves of folio size. An inscription on the flyleaf says that Elias Walter[4] had copied this codex in 1883, and adds that this was the third time that he had copied it, apparently considering it so valuable that a wide circulation of the book was desirable. Nothing is said about the original from which it was

3 Ritschl then goes on to speculate whether 150 years later Pietism might not be considered a next step in this process of transformation, thus assuming an underground historical chain: Franciscan Tertiaries—Anabaptists—Pietists. They all are nonecclesiastical, definitely loyal to the Gospel, and call for discipleship and brotherhood.

4 Elias Walter was an Elder of the so-called "Darius people" among the Hutterites, and preacher of the Standoff Colony near Macleod, Alberta. He died in 1939. Due to his intense interest in preserving the old Hutterite heritage we now have printed both the old Chronicle and the hymnal of the brethren.

copied. Since in all Hutterite thinking and writing, and in Anabaptist thinking generally, the Book of Revelation is seldom referred to (in fact the Brethren are very non-apocalyptically minded), such attention is most remarkable. In all the Hutterite doctrinal and homiletic literature no reference to this book and its Scriptural background can be found. And yet, here is a strange codex being read (most likely not always well understood) and being promoted among the more interested brethren. After some search in my own papers I discovered that once, in 1929, I had had another copy of the same book in my hands when I examined the beautiful library of the Archbishop of Esztergom (Gran), Hungary, for its holdings of Anabaptistica. There was the same *Auslegung der Offenbarung Johannis* in a codex of 1593 (two signatures of 243 and 249 leaves in quarto) confiscated from the Brethren in the days of persecution two centuries ago. Apparently a codex of this kind must also have served Elias Walter as the model for his own copy.

The first page of the book contains an interesting Introduction, reading somewhat like this: "Anno 1350, under Pope Clementus VI, there arose a man by the name of *Peter Johannes* who expounded the Revelation of the Apostle John by virtue of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. He said that the Roman Church was the very Babylon and the Pope the very Antichrist (Rev. 18:22). His followers were not tolerated and he himself, upon the order of Clementus, was excavated and his bones were burned to powder."

When I mentioned this strange reference to another Hutterite brother he called my attention to a passage in the big Hutterite Chronicle, the *Geschicht-Buch,* which heretofore had completely escaped my attention. Caspar Braitmichel (d. 1573), the first writer of the Chronicle and the official annalist of the Brethren during their earlier period, begins his story with an elaborate historical introduction from the creation of man to the coming of the Protestant Reformation, which was partly borrowed from Sebastian Franck. Here we read again the same story of Peter Johannes.[5] Braitmichel expressly declares that he had been "a member of the *Fraticelli* around the year 1340, and that his bones were excavated and burned to powder by order of Clemens VI." This remark in the chronicle proves that Braitmichel was acquainted with our book and knew at least something about its background. It must have been known to the Hutterites at a rather early date, since Braitmichel's story does not continue beyond 1542.

5 *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder,* ed. R. Wolkan (Vienna, 1929) 29.

A book of this character among the Anabaptists is certainly something unique, and the question arises: who is the author and what do we know about the origin and place of his work? It was not too difficult to discover that the author was Petrus Johannis Olivi (1248-98), a Franciscan monk, born in Southern France, who had come under the influence of Joachim de Floris (the apocalyptic visionary of the twelfth century), and who became the uncontested leader of the Spiritual Franciscans (not Fraticelli!), the followers of Saint Francis who enthusiastically espoused the principle of apostolic poverty. The radical position of Olivi and his followers led inevitably to a conflict with the worldly papacy, characterized by bitter attacks from either side.[6]

In 1295-96 Olivi wrote a *Postil on the Apocalypse*,[7] which remained unpublished during his lifetime. One year after his death, that is in 1299, the book became known to the clerics of the time, and due to its violent attacks upon the papacy, in which he called the Roman Church "a Church of Satan, Babylon, Synagogue of the Devil, Woman on the Beast, etc.," it was denounced with equal passion. Pope John XXII ordered a trial by the Inquisition, which lasted from 1318 to 1326 and ended with the official condemnation of the book and its author. In the meantime, however, the book had gained a high reputation among the Beguines of Southern France,[8] who with their own eyes were observing the deterioration of the papacy in Avignon, thus furnishing even stronger arguments in support of Olivi's charges. During the papal reign of John XXII (1316-34) in Avignon when the Spiritual Franciscans of Narbonne asked for the canonization of Olivi, the petition aroused violent opposition on the part of the Conventual Franciscans, the pro-papacy faction. Somehow John XXII connived an attack upon the grave of the man whom others venerated like a saint; his bones were excavated and burned, and all the devotional gifts which had been placed in the tomb were destroyed. This event occurred in 1318, not in 1340 as Braitmichel claimed.

The struggle of the Spiritual Franciscans and the Fraticelli

6 Ernst Benz, *Ecclesia Spiritualis* (Stuttgart, 1934). The life of Olivi is found on pages 256-64, his book 265-331, the characterization of the Roman Church as Antichrist, 307-14. See also the extensive article on "Olivi" in Herzog-Hauck, *Protestantische Real Enzyklopedie*, 3rd ed. and (condensed) in Schaff-Herzog's *Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*. Further literature on Olivi: D. Douie, *The nature and effect of the heresy of the Fraticelli*, Manchester, 1932, 81-119; L. Jarraux, "Pierre Jean Olivi, sa vie, as doctrine," in *Etudes Franciscaines*, XLV, 1933, 129-53, 227-98, 513-29.

7 *Postil* (from Latin "post illa verba," after these words) meant originally simply a commentary on certain Scriptural passages, but very soon received the meaning of homiletic exposition of such passages, and still later that of a sermon collection.

8 On the Beguines compare the recent work by Ernest W. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture, With Special Emphasis on the Belgian Scene* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1954).

against the feudalized Catholic Church continued throughout the fourteenth century. In this struggle the monks calmly accepted martyrdom. Poverty and suffering rather than wealth and political power were deemed the true expression of discipleship and evangelical life. It was an uneven fight, however, and during the fifteenth century both non-conforming groups eventually disappeared. Thus any direct contact between these "left-wing" Franciscans and the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century is out of question.

At this point our positive knowledge ends. We do not know how the Anabaptists obtained Olivi's book on the Apocalypse, and we do not know who translated it from Latin into German. All sources of information fail at this point; no German translation seems to be known,[9] and yet it must have existed "underground." Thus we must rely upon conjectures: some indirect contacts between the Spirituals and the Anabaptists must have existed. Naturally, our thoughts turn at once to certain Waldensian groups (most likely in Upper Austria in the 1520's whose existence is known) who might have possessed and handed down this precious "anti-Roman" book. Since the Waldensians had been contemporaries with the Franciscan Spirituals, and like them were persecuted, mutual contacts between these two groups are most probable. Perhaps the German translation even originated with these German Waldensian circles who had received the Olivi *Postil* from some fugitive Franciscans during the fifteenth century. It is clear that the book had been popular with medieval sects both for its attacks upon a secularized papacy and for its apocalyptic orientation. It is therefore not unlikely that the book was given to some early Anabaptists (in Upper Austria, say in Steyr) by Waldensians (now about to pass from the scene), together with the little story concerning its author.[10] In this way an early acquaintance by the Anabaptists with the book and its tradition would be intelligible. No direct influence of any sort need be assumed.

There remains, however, one more question. What was the attraction of the book and with what kind of eyes was it read in the sixteenth century? If we follow the analysis of Ernst Benz,[11] the main theme of the book (officially a commentary on the Book of Revelation) was the struggle between the "church of the clerics" (belonging according to the vision of Joachim de Floris to the second period

9 The first Latin print of Olivi's Commentary on the Apocalypse appeared in Amsterdam in 1700.

10 It can immediately be observed that certain inaccuracies slipped into this tradition. John XXII (1316-34) is changed into Clemens VI (1342-52); the year 1318 into 1340 or even 1350; the Spiritual Franciscans are identified as Fraticelli. But otherwise the story of the profanation of the tomb is correct.

11 See above note 6.

of God's revelation) and the "church of the Spirit" (the representative of the third and final period of the sacred history, as Joachim saw it). The decline of the church of the popes was to Olivi at the same time an indication that sacred history (history of redemption, *Heilsgeschichte*) was progressing. Only by persecution and martyrdom in complete apostolic poverty can true evangelical life prosper. Under such conditions an increased inwardness (*Verinnerlichung*) will usher in the third age (or aeon) of the world, the "age of the Spirit." In this Joachimitic picture the Roman Church assumes more and more the character of the Antichrist. Rome is Babylon, the Synagogue of the Devil, etc. Benz[12] calls this vision a typical "theology of the sects," and he says that the Spiritual Franciscans with their theology of history denied to Rome (actually then Avignon) any justification for existence in the ongoing drama of sacred history.[13] Thus Olivi's *Postil* became perhaps the strongest expression of the Franciscan spiritualism and gave cause to the rise of a church of purely "spiritual" character. This explains also how and why the book gained almost canonical character with these sectarian groups of the later Middle Ages.[14]

But Anabaptism was in no way medieval, and only in a very small way was it apocalyptic. Truly enough, the Anabaptists often speak "of these last and dangerous times," and somehow expect the imminence of the kingdom of God. They also emphasized strongly the idea of the "two kingdoms," namely, that of God (to which one belongs after baptism) and that of Satan (to which belongs all the unregenerated world). But apocalyptic speculations almost never entered Anabaptist thinking, except perhaps for the brief period of Melchior Hofmann's activities in the 1530's. What then was the appeal of the book which enabled it to persist through four centuries? Was it its call to a life of poverty and suffering, as befitting true disciples? Perhaps; but it does not seem the major emphasis of the book. The only answer available then is the fact that the book stigmatized the Roman Church as the incarnation of the Antichrist. In other words, it was the anti-Roman tendencies, presented not by Luther or by Zwingli but by suffering brethren in the Spirit, which seem to have made this book a favorite reader among the Brethren.

In this conjecture we are supported by the following observation. Around 1536 the well-known Hutterite brother, Ulrich Stadler

12 Benz, *op. cit.*, 308.

13 *Ibid.*, l. c., 405.

14 It is worth noting that Dante (d. 1321) was also strongly influenced in his philosophy of history and in his outlook on church politics by Olivi's book on the Apocalypse. Of course Dante was always anti-papal, a genuine "Ghibelline" of his time.

(a Tirolean by birth), wrote a popular tract concerning the community of the Saints (*Von der Gemeinschaft der Heiligen*), found in many Hutterite codices. Here we find strong reminiscences of the book of Olivi; or should we rather say that in some passages we recognize such reminiscences? In his tract Stadler calls the pope "the Babylonian whore who sits on the dragon with the seven heads, the synagogue of the living devil, etc."[15] Of course, this brief quotation need not prove anything, but since expressions of this kind are otherwise extremely rare in Hutterite writings, it appears at least possible that Stadler remembered Olivi's book and outlook while writing his own tract. We are not likely to go far astray if we assume that around 1530 this book was known to many Anabaptists, at least in the Austrian area. No more than this, however, can rightfully be claimed at this stage of Anabaptist research. There is very little basis for further speculation as to other contacts with earlier groups and influences by them; also as to whether the book was known to Anabaptist groups outside Austria. Enticing though it appears we yet have no sufficient basis for fully accepting the continuity thesis of either Keller or Ritschl. One swallow does not make a summer.

15 L. Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse Oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Leipzig, 1938) 225; Rudolf Wolkan, *Die Hutterer* (Vienna, 1918) 159 f.

RESEARCH NOTES

NEW DISCOVERIES OF IMPORTANT SIXTEENTH CENTURY ANABAPTIST CODICES

The most noteworthy discoveries of Anabaptist writings since the discovery of the Hutterite *Geschichtbuch* (published by Wolkan in 1923) will be reported briefly in the following. A fuller report will be given later.

I. *Codex Geiser*

(Named after the discoverer, Samuel Geiser.)

This undated codex, owned in 1737 by "Claus Wütherich in der vorderen Noumat Zu Trub," in the Emmenthal, Canton Bern, Switzerland, and apparently, according to the type of script, transcribed about this time, was found in 1946 in the attic of a Mennonite farmhouse near Langnau, Switzerland, by Samuel Geiser of Brügg b. Biel, who transcribed it in 1955 in a manuscript of 156 typewritten pages. Copies of the typescript have been deposited in the Goshen College Library and in the Library of the Mennonitische Forschungsstelle at Göttingen, Germany. A microfilm of the original is in the Bethel College Mennonite Historical Library at North Newton, Kansas. The following analysis of its contents has been prepared by Robert Friedmann, who holds that the codex is of Swabian or Alsatian origin, certainly not Swiss (spelling) nor Hutterite (contents). It has no index or "register" as all Hutterite codices do.

Contents of the Codex

A. Pp. 1-68. *Hymns,* thirteen in number, called *Aubund etlicher schöner gesäng so von Gottesförchtigen Verständigen Christen gestelt worden,* but without any visible connection with the well-known hymnal of this name. A statement, however, is made in the codex, that these hymns were taken from a printed Anbaptist hymnal of 1620. (The only known such printed hymnal is the 1622 *Ausbund* edition.) Among the hymns are: (1) 2 hymns by Johannes Harschen von Schorndorf, 1559. Although Schorndorf is in Württemberg, this particular brother is not named at all in the Württemberg *Täuferakten* edited by Bossert.

(2) 1 hymn called "Danksagung" by Hans Huth, erroneously assigned in the codex to L. Hetzer.

(3) 1 hymn by Hans Biechl (Büchel) of Waiblingen, well-known hymn-writer of the "Swiss Brethren." It begins as follows: "Als man zählet 1500 und 17 Jahr . . . ," but is different from Hymn 29 of the "*Ausbund*" with a similar beginning. Actually the date "1517" is incorrect inasmuch as this hymn tells of the heavy persecutions of Anabaptists in Württemberg and also in Tirol between 1527 and 1531.

(4) 1 hymn by two brothers of the Künzingerthal (Kinzigtal in Alsace), 1574 (?).

(5) 1 hymn by Leonard Sommer, written in his prison on (Hohen-) Wittlingen (erroneously Wicklingen). This brother is known from Bossert's *Täuferakten* (p. 412 and note). He died in 1573, and was known to the Hutterite brother Paul Glock, likewise imprisoned there.

B. Pp. 69-153 *Doctrinal Writings,* five in number.

(1) Clemens Adler, *Das Urteil von dem Schwert, mit unterschiedlichem Gewalt dreier Fürstentümer: der Welt, Juden und Christen, mit andern anliegenden Sachen* (signed 12 Aprilis 1529), pp. 69-111. Adler must then have been in Moravia, as he speaks of the "Schwert-

ler" of Austerlitz as those whom he opposes. This would make him a member of the Stäbler (later Hutterite) group. See S. Geiser, "An Ancient Anabaptist Witness for Nonresistance," MQR XXV (1951) 66-69.

(2) H(ans) Schnell, *Gründlicher Bericht aus Gottes Wort wie man die weltliche und geistliche Regiment . . . unterscheiden soll, und von dem Gewalt des weltlichen Schwerts: ob die Obrigkeit nach Erforderung ihres Amts das Schwert über die Uebeltäter führen, damit Rach geben, wider die Feind streiten, Schutz und Schirm mit Gewalt erhalten, und dazu ein Christ im friedsamen Reich Christi sein und bleiben möge.* (no date), pp. 112-28. The only possible clue as to the author might be found in Bossert's Württemberg TA, where a Hans Schnell, or according to his profession Hans Becken (baker), from Bartenbach in Württemberg, is mentioned for the years 1575-76. It is, however, uncertain whether this is the real author of this tract, which might rather belong to an earlier period of Anabaptism.

(3) Algerius, *Sendbrief aus dem Gefängnis zu Rom an seine Glaubensbrüder im Welschland,* written before 1557 (in which year he was martyred), pp. 129-34; a *Postscript,* pp. 134-38, written by a brother Da(vid) Gr(uber or Graber) " 'in der Hoffnung Christi,' 1565 zu Isswitz in Mähren." Such a place is not known, thus far. This letter and also the postscript may be found in the *Martyrs' Mirror,* except for the very last line, naming Da.Gr. and the year. I presume that this letter was printed in 1565 by this Da.Gr. as a small pamphlet *(Flugblatt)* and with the additional information needed, etc., comparable to all the other pamphlets now so well known from the *Güldene Aepffel in Silbern Schalen.* It was from such a pamphlet no doubt that van Braght inserted the letter into his book. Algerius comes from Naples, and was a student in Padua where he received his adult baptism around 1550. From this information it becomes almost certain that Algerius was not an Anabaptist but a "Socinian" (Anti-Trinitarian), since around 1550 there simply were no Anabaptists in the Venetian area and in Padua. From the research of DeWind we know of connection of these Italians with Moravia. Thus it is by no means surprising to find a Brother David Gruber or Graber in Moravia (perhaps the name Isswitz is misspelled?), who now has this extraordinary letter printed and sent out among all kinds of "Left-Wingers." My guess is that this brother Gruber was a "Swiss Brother" in Moravia. Hymn 29 of the *Ausbund* deals with this Algerius.

(4) Levilius (or perhaps Civillius?), *Sendbrief* (from Italy) *an sein lieben Christen in Italien, Ermahnung zur Beständigkeit und wahren Gelassenheit,* pp. 138-46. This section is subscribed by one "D. B.," probably the translator from the Italian or the publisher. Apparently letter (4) and letter (3) come from the same source, both being very deep and spiritually moving epistles. Nothing is known about Levilius.

(5) Jacob Hartmann von Durlach, Württemberg, *Beruf und Befehl der Diener des Evangeliums, daraus zu kennen, welche die Rechtschaffenen und die Falschen seien* (between 1555 and 1583) pp. 147-53. The name Hartmann appears in Bossert's Württemberg TA, but an exact date is not possible, 1555-1583 indicating the likely period. Hartmann uses Latin terms quite often, thus indicating that he had some education in a Latin school. Durlach is a well-known place in Baden, now incorporated in Karlsruhe.

(6) In an appendix of 1749, we find still another page, incomplete however, with some narrative and a hymn: "Welcher der Höll entrinnen will . . . ," and a final concluding paragraph, pp. 154-56. This appendix was most likely taken from another Anabaptist book, and does not belong to the rest of this codex.

The following list of titles and first lines of the 13 hymns in the Codex Geiser has been prepared by Samuel Geiser.

Pages

4-12 *Etlicher schöner Gesäng so von Gottesförchtigen vnd Verständigen Christen gestellt worden.*
BJlich lob ich die allerliebsten Frauwen mein
aus gnaden sie mich geboren hat

12-20 Soli Deo gloria *Meistergesang* Des fromen vnd Gottsäligen Mans Johannes Harschen von Schorndorff . . . (1559)
Vach auff O Mensch aus dinem Schlaff, das bitt ich dich
vnd biss ein Klein will Wunderhafft

20-31 *Ein Ander Geistlich Lied,* auch von Johan Harschen gemacht
(Geht im Thon: Wie man den *Dannhäuser* singt)
Hjielff Göttliche Krafft vnd steh mir bey,
das ych es mög vollbringen

31-32 *Ein ander Lied* im Thon *Pangelugua* L. Hetzer
Wjr dancksagen Gott diner Ehere
Das du vns allezeit Thust ernehren

32-34 *Ein ander Geistlich Lied* im Thon: Wie man den *Danhäuser* singt. H. Veit
O Herr dich Thun ich Rüffen an
Mein Noth mus ich dir Klagen

34-36 *Ein ander Geistlich Lied* im Ton: Ungnad begähr ich nicht von dir
Greütz vnd Trübsal, anfächtung Schwär
O Gott min Herr

36-39 *Ein Lied* von der gläubigen Christien Zustand vnd Marter . . . Durch Hans Biechlen von Wayblingen
Alls man zalt fünffzehen hundert
Und sibenzehen Jahr

39-41 *Ein Ander Lied* in seiner Eignen Mellodey
In Gottes namen heben wirs an
zu Preisen Gott in höchstem Thron

41-45 *Ein ander geistlich Lied* Von zweien liblichen brüderen aus dem Küntzingertal bürtig, ano 1574 bezüget
Hilf Gott das ich zu diser stund
dein Lob aussprächen mög mit mund

46-49 *Ein ander Geistlich Lied* Im Thon: Es begab sich aff ein Zitte M. Schill
Mein Kumer Thu ich Klagen
Dir Gott vnd Schöpfer min

49-51 *Ein ander Lied* so Leonhart Sommer gemacht hat in der Geffängnus zu Wicklingen im Würtembärgerland
Im Thon: Frisch vff in Gottes Namen.
O Gott thun mich erhalten
In miner Trawerikeit

51-52 *Ein ander Geistlich Lied* im Thon: Kompt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn. H.I.M.
Frölich so wil ichs heben an
und Prisen Christum Gottes Sohn.

53-60 *Ein schön Lied vom Joseph* wie er von seinen brüderen in Egipten verkoufft . . . yn des Schüllers Thon.
Nun hörend Gottes wunder vill
daruon ich yetzund singen will.

II. *Codex Kunstbuch*

Heinold Fast, doctoral candidate in church history at Heidelberg University under Professor H. Bornkamm, and Dr. J. F. G. Goeters of Bonn, in 1955 doctor in church history at Zurich under Professor F. Blanke, discovered in July 1955 in the Bürgerbibliothek at Bern, Switzerland, a manuscript-codex 22 x 16 cm. of *ca.* 740 pages, the first 32 unpaginated, bearing the title *Das Kunstbuch,* signed Sept. 21, 1561, by Jörg Maler of Augsburg as the editor and copyist. It contains in addition to certain minor items, 42 letters and documents of 1527-1555, largely from the Pilgram Marpeck South German Anabaptist circle. The manuscript apparently was intended for publication.

Of the following list of the 42 items as prepared by Heinold Fast, numbers 6, 10, and 11 were published from another source by Lydia Müller in her *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Leipzig, 1938). The German pagination has been prepared by Heinold Fast, who has reproduced the exact pagination of the original copyist. Bl=folio; the numbers in parentheses give the internal pagination for each separate document. The words in parentheses are supplied by Fast.

List of Letters and Documents in Codex Kunstbuch

1. Sigmund Bosch an die Aeltesten und die Gemeinde in Austerlitz und alle andern erreichbaren Gemeinden in Mähren. 17. Juli 1548. Von der letzten Zeit. Bl 1a-3a
2. Pilgram Marpeck an Magdalena von Pappenheim und andere daselbst. Augsburg, 1545. Von den Verstorbenen in Sünden. Bl 3b-5b
3. Pilgram Marpeck an alle Wahrgläubigen im Lande Mähren. Augsburg, 1544. Von den Fleischfreien, die alles Macht haben wollen. Bl 6a-8b
4. Pilgram Marpeck. Von der Liebe. Bl 8b-10b
5. Pilgram Marpeck an die um Strassburg (Kinzig und Lebertal). Probin (-Prada? near Ilanz, Graubünden), 21. Dez. 1540. Von der Einigkeit und der Braut Christi. Bl 11a-14b
6. Hans Hut, Ein Anfang eines rechten christlichen Lebens Bl 15a-26b
7. Pilgram Marpeck an die Schweizer Brüder. 1531 (?, more probably *ca.* 1542). Von wegen der Jähen Gerichte und Urteile. Bl 27a-62b (1-36)
8. (Pilgram Marpeck) an die Schweizer Brüder in Appenzell, bes. Uli Scherer und Jörg Maler. 1543. (Versuch der Begleichung eines Zwiespalts). Bl 63a-66b (37-40)
9. Lienhart Schiemer (an die Gemeinde Gottes zu Rattenberg). Rattenberg (Inn), 5. Dez. 1527. (Von der Gnade Gottes). Bl 63a-90b (1-23)
10. Lienhart Schiemer an die christliche Gemeinde zu Rattenberg. (Rattenberg, 1527). (Uber die 12 Artikel und) von der wahren Taufe. Bl 91a-109a (24-42a)

11. Lienhart Schiemer aus seinem Gefängnis. (Rattenberg), 1527. Ein wahrhaftig, kurz Evangelium, heut der Welt zu predigen. Bl 109b-111b
12. Hans Schlaffer (und Lienhart Funckh). Schwaz, 3. Febr. 1528.
    a) Ein einfältig Gebet Bl 112a-115b (1-4b)
    b) Beicht und offenbares Bekenntnis Bl 115b-128b (4b-17)
    (Bl 128b Spruch über das Heil in Christo)
13. Pilgram Marpeck. Von der Liebe Gottes in Christo Bl 129a-143b (1-15)
14. Jörg Maler an Ulrich Agemann in Konstanz. St. Gallen. 15. Okt. 1552. (Versuch, ihn zurückzugewinnen). Bl 144a-156b
    (Bl 157a Sprüche)
    (Bl 157b Eine Antwort auf die Frage nach dem Eid)
15. Pilgram Marpeck. Augsburg, 22. Jan. 1555. Von der Menschheit Christi. Bl 158a-163b
    (Bl 164[2] Antwort auf die Frage dreier Predikanten und eines Predigermönches über die Taufe)
16. Pilgram Marpeck an die Gemeinden in Mähren. (Augsburg, 1553). Vom Dienst und Dienern der Kirchen Bl 164a-167b (1-4b)
17. Gemeinden in Mähren an Pilgram Marpeck in Augsburg. 19. März 1553. (Antwort auf Nr. 16) Bl 167b-170a (4b-7)
18. Pilgram Marpeck. Augsburg, 24. Aug. 1550. Von fünferlei Frucht wahrer Busse. Bl 171a-179a (1-9)
    (Bl 179 Vom Gericht und von der Erlösung)
19. Leupolt Scharnschlager. Gemeindeordnung der Glieder Christi in sieben Artikeln. Bl 180a-183b (1-4)
20. Leupolt Scharnschlager. Gemeine Vermahnung und Erinnerung zur Besserung des Leibes Christi. Bl 184a-186b (5-7)
21. (Anonym). (Kriegsordnung des himmlischen Kaisers für seine Hauptleute). Bl 187a-194b (1-8)
22. (Valentin Eckelsamer). Die Gelehrten die Verkehrten. (Indentisch mit der gereimten Vorrede Bl IVb-XIIa).
23. Hans Has von Hallstadt an die Auserwählten zu Windisch-Graz. (Graz, 1527). (Vom Trost der Christen in der Verfolgung). Bl 204-214 (1-11)
24. Cornelius Vech an die in Appenzell und die in und um Zürich. 8; März 1543. Bl 215a-227b (1-13)
25. Jörg Maler. Appenzell, 1547. Ein Rechenschaft des Glaubens. Bl 228a-235 (1-7)
26. Sigmund Bosch an Jörg Maler. 4. Juli 1553. (Allgemeine Ermahnung zur Gedult in aller Trübsal). Bl 236a-237b (1-2)
27. Pilgram Marpeck an Leupolt Scharnschlager. 1545. Von der Erbschaft der Sünde etc. Bl 238a-240b (3-4)
    (Bl 241-42 (6-7) Bekenntnis des Athanasius)
    (Bl 242b Prophezeiung Albrecht Gleicheisens von Erfurt aus dem Jahr 1372 auf das Jahr 1528)
28. Helena Freiberger. Schuldbekenntnis. Bl 243a-246a (1-4)
29. Leupolt Scharnschlager. Ob ein Christ Obrigkeit sein mag. Bl 246b-247b (4b-5)
30. Leupolt Scharnschlager an die Brüder in Graubünden und Appenzell. (Nach Mai 1544). (Trost in der Verfolgung). Bl 248a-251a (1-4a)
31. Leupolt Scharnschlager an Martin Planckhner, da dieser zu Chur vertrieben worden. 24. Mai 1544 Bl 251b-253b (4b-6b)
32. Leupolt Scharnschlager an die im Elsass. Vom wahren Glauben und gemeinem Heil in Christo. Bl 254a-263b (1-10)

33. Pilgram Marpeck an die Brüder in Württemberg. Chur, 15. Aug. 1544. Von der christlichen Kirchen und der agareischen. Bl 264a-271b (1-8)
34. Pilgram Marpeck an die in Graubünden und Appenzell. Augsburg, 9. Aug. 1551. (Wegen Streitereien und Uneinigkeit bei den Schweizern). Bl 272a-277b (1-6)
35. Pilgram Marpeck an die in Graubünden, Appenzell, St. Gallen und im Elsass. Augsburg, 1. Febr. 1547. Von der Tiefe (Niedrigkeit) Christi. Bl 278a-301a
36. Hans Bichel an Sophia Bubenhofer, geborene Marschallin von Pappenheim. Waiblingen, 7. Jan. 1555. Zu ihrer Besserung. Bl 301a u. b
37. Pilgram Marpeck an die Geliebten zu Austerlitz und anderswo. (1553?). Von der innerlichen Kirchen etc. Bl 302-306
38. Pilgram Marpeck an Magdalena von Pappenheim. Augsburg, 9 Dez. 1547. Von dreierlei Menschen, so sich im Gericht finden. Vom bäurischen Adel. Bl 307-317
39. (Anonym). 1533. Eine Trostepistel, aus heiliger Schrift zusammengezogen. Bl 318a-331a
40. Jörg Maler. 1554. Ein Bekenntnis des Glaubens (nach dem Apostolikum). Bl 331b-335b
41. Christian Entfelder, 1530. Von wahrer Gottseligkeit, wie der Mensch allhie in dieser Zeit dazu kommen mag. Bl 336-345
42. Schlussrede von Lienhart Schienhere (Schiemer?).

A careful and comprehensive analysis and evaluation of the historical significance of the contents of the *Kunstbuch* has been prepared by Heinold Fast, and has been submitted for publication to the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte.* A similar article will be published in English by the REVIEW.

III. *Additional Codices discovered in Bern.*

Fast and Goeters also discovered two additional Anabaptist codices of Swiss origin in the Bern Bürgerbibliothek along with the *Kunstbuch,* both from the end of the 16th century (1590). The one, of *ca.* 370 pages, is a commentary on the *Frankenthal* (Palatinate) *Gespräch* of 1571. The other, of *ca.* 100 pages, is a treatise on Separation from the World. (*Absonderung).* Both will be the subject of an early full report in the REVIEW by Heinold Fast.

IV. *Rediscovery of the Schloss Mittersill Hutterite Codices.*

For twenty years Robert Friedmann has been on the search for the outstanding private collection of 25 Hutterite codices formerly at Schloss Mittersill, Austria, where he had examined them and prepared an annotated list (See *Mennonite Life,* April, 1952). They were later sold, and all attempts to trace the purchaser failed. Now Dr. Friedmann reports that through Dr. Grete Mecenseffy of the Evangelical Theological Faculty at the University of Vienna, 22 of the 25 codices have been located in the City Library (former Stadtarchiv) of Bratislava or Pressburg, Czechoslovakia. Dr. Mecenseffy secured a title list of all the Hutterite codices in the Bratislava library, now 29 in number, 22 of which could be definitely identified as former Mittersill codices. H. S. BENDER.

ADDENDA AND CORRECTIONS TO TWO PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED ARTICLES BY ROBERT FRIEDMANN

I

New information concerning the "Christian Sectarians in Thessalonica and Their Relations to the Anabaptists." See the REVIEW, January 1955, 54-69, in particular 66 and 67.

On page 67 I said, "Who were these remarkable Greek Brethren? . . . The only thing known for sure is that these brethren were not descendants of the Bogomiles (who had been Slavic Christians and not Greeks)." That was all I could state after many inquiries of experts. Now I have received a highly welcome communication from the best informed church historian of the Balkan countries, Professor A. V. Soloviev, in Geneva, Switzerland. In a letter dated May 2, 1955, he informs me that these brethren around Thessalonica and Larissa, Thessaly, were most likely still Bogomiles, the only large sect in the Balkans during the 15th to the 17th centuries. They did live near Salonika, both in Macedonia and in Thessaly to the south.

As for the old manuscripts written in uncials (large type script), containing Epistles of Paul, Soloviev writes: we have reports concerning such manuscripts, mainly from Bulgaria (17th century), where these people erroneously are reported as Paulicians, and we know that these manuscripts were written in Slavic script. It is possible that we are dealing here with people who for the sake of their faith had been expelled from Bosnia (in the 15th century a kingdom in the Balkans) in the year 1450. These Bosnian refugees fled then to Bulgaria and to Thessaly, taking along with them their precious manuscripts. The reference to uncials indicates Slavic origin; most Greek manuscripts were written in minuscule (small type script); only Slavic Gospel manuscripts were in uncials.

The sectarians around Larissa were most likely a mixed Greek-Slavic Bogomile Church. (In Thessaly and around Salonika the population has always been mixed Greek and Slavic.) This church had been greatly strengthened by the Bosnian refugees of 1450. It is most likely that these people had difficulties in reading their manuscripts written in old Slavic or Slavonic language. Yet they still kept them in high reverence since the Bogomiles were a "Johanine-Pauline" sect.

Bibliographical Note. As for the Bogomiles in Macedonia in the 15th century, compare Migne, *Patrologia Graeca,* v. CLV (Metropolit Simeon, *Dialogue against all heretics,* around 1420); here the Bogomiles are also called "Kudugeren." For more details compare A. V. Soloviev's studies in *Byzantion,* 1950, 1952, and 1953.

II

New information concerning "Claus Felbinger's Confession of 1560," See the REVIEW, April 1955, 141-61.

On page 144 I stated that this Confession of 1560 had never been published before or even received serious attention. Now the Society of Brothers, Primavera, Alto Paraguay, informs me that this outstanding Confession was published, both in German and in English, in the 1939 volume (II) of the magazine of the Brothers called *Plough* (pp. 5-9, 36-40, 113-19) and *Pflug* (pp. 5-10, 36-40). The Brothers took the text from a formerly unknown manuscript of the Zentralbibliothek of Zurich, Switzerland (sign. A 67). I am glad to correct my misstatement and to give due credit to the fine work of the Society of Brothers.

ROBERT FRIEDMANN

Pulpit Eloquence: A List of Doctrinal and Historical Studies in English, in *Speech Monographs,* Vol. XXII, No. 4 (Special Issue). By Harry Caplan and Henry H. King, Cornell University. Baton Rouge: The Speech Association of America, 1955. Pp. 159. $2.00.

This issue of *Speech Monographs* is of interest to readers of the REVIEW as a sign of the growing recognition by scholars of the work of Mennonite writers and speakers. Not many years ago such a study would have passed over Mennonites as a small unimportant group. The success of Mennonite students and scholars in employing their denominational heritage in graduate studies and dissertations is drawing the attention of European and American scholars and winning their respect.

This study presents a bibliography of some 5,000 titles on a large variety of subjects dealing with preaching, criticism of preaching, the preacher, biographies of famous preachers, collections of sermons, comparison of American and English preaching, essays on eloquence, advice to young ministers, addresses on the duties, character, and rewards of the preacher, and many similar topics. As the compilers state in their prefatory note, the items presented in this bibliography "indicate an interest in the preaching of all periods and many countries." The list begins with the sixteenth century and continues to the present.

Most of the references are of a serious nature such as one would expect in a list of books and articles on pulpit eloquence. The compilers include others of a rather startling nature, such, for instance, as George Ade's humorous essay, "The preacher who flew his kite," printed in his *Fables for Slang;* Sinclair Lewis' fictional satire on the ministry, *Elmer Gantry;* and *Hurrah and Hallelujah, The Teachings of Germany's Poets, Prophets, Professors* and *Preachers,* translated from the Danish original, written by Jacob Peter Bang and printed in Copenhagen in 1916. Items of this nature are comparatively few but they illustrate the wide range and objectivity of the study.

The bibliography contains nearly forty references or cross references to Mennonite preachers and writers. The first occurs in the sixteenth century list: "*Menno Simons* (1496-1561). P[rotestant]. See Bender, H. S., in 20th century list." The cross reference reads: "Bender, Harold Stauffer, and Horsch, John. P[rotestant]. Menno Simons' Life and Writings, a quadricentennial tribute; biography by H. S. Bender, writings selected and tr. from the Dutch by John Horsch, Scottdale (Pa.) 1936." This illustrates the method of reference employed throughout the bibliography.

Following the lone Mennonite reference to Menno Simons in the sixteenth century none occurs in the seventeenth and eighteenth century lists. Only John S. Coffman and Daniel J. Johns appear in the list for the nineteenth. The reference to Coffman reads: "Coffman, John S. (1848-1899). P. See Kennel, L. E.; Shank, F. A.; Steiner, M. S.; Umble, R. H., in 20th century list." The list for that century includes the names of John F. Funk, Joseph S. Shoemaker, George R. Brunk, and of about a dozen other Mennonites.

Mennonite books, periodicals, and unpublished dissertations referred to in one or more items in the bibliography are *Christian Ministry, Gospel Herald, Mennonite Cyclopedic Dictionary, Mennonite Historical Bulletin, Mennonite Pioneers, Mennonite Preaching 1864-1944* (unpublished doctoral dissertation by Roy Umble), *Mennonite Yearbook and Directory,*

Three Sermons by John S. Coffman (unpublished M.A. thesis by LeRoy E. Kennel), *Proceedings of the Third Annual Conference on Mennonite Cultural Problems,* and *Sword and Trumpet.* Regrettable omissions are *Herald of Truth* and the MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW. Even twenty years ago William Warren Sweet referred to the REVIEW as an outstanding American historical-religious magazine. Another unfortunate omission is the lack of reference to General Conference Mennonite Church personnel and publications as well as to those of some other prominent Mennonite bodies. The compilers are to be congratulated on the completion of an immense task. The new publication represents a vast amount of painstaking effort in compilation and editing. Scholars everywhere will welcome it as a project long overdue.

Goshen College JOHN UMBLE

But Not Forsaken. By Helen Good Brenneman. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1954. Pp. 212. $2.50.

This is a story of the courage and faith of a refugee mother. In simple narrative and dialogue form the drama of Europe's displaced millions is epitomized in the life of the Penner family. From the peaceful setting of a Mennonite village in the Ukraine the vicissitudes of war force the family to flee ever westward followed by hunger, and fear, and tragedy until finally reunited in a refugee camp at Gronau in Western Germany. Here they plan for a new future in a strange land.

The story is to be recommended on several counts. It is authentic. Those who are familiar with the hard lot of the refugee in World War II recognize again and again the historicity of the account. The book is more than fiction. It is to be recommended also because of the author's sympathetic insight and portrayal of the deeper issues involved: the loss of faith, the passing of loved ones, the corrosive effects of war upon the personalities involved. And then the book is to be recommended for its human interest, its style and format. The wealth of living material at the disposal of the author lends itself well to the writing of Christian literature in the accepted form of happiness, evil, pathos, and final redemption through new faith.

If approaching critically the reader may at first become aware of shortcomings to be expected in any young author. The opening chapters have a certain vagueness because of the lack of specific geographical orientation so necessary in any historical account. In her attempt to do justice to her subject matter the author unconsciously overloaded the book with adjectives. The sentence structure is frequently laborious, e.g., "there had been much worse rooms" (P. 7).

Nevertheless, the book is to be recommended to the reader for the vital message which it presents. The author, a former relief worker, and wife of a midwestern Mennonite pastor and former refugee worker, has succeeded well in her stated objective to "create a greater understanding and deeper sympathy for the many homeless wanderers in our world today." Readers will undoubtedly find this to be their experience, and with it also feel an upsurge of faith in God, whose activity is so abundantly evident in the lives of the people in this story.

Chicago CORNELIUS J. DYCK